All six articles were originally published in German. Unfortunately, works composed in German have a virtually imperceptible impact on Anglo-American scholarship. Consequently, my research has exerted little influence on the debate conducted within this tradition. Admittedly, it is more concerned with the authenticity than with the oral or written character of the transmission of knowledge. And since scholars in the Arabic-speaking world (if they do so at all) take note only of Western studies on Islam written in English, my work has remained almost unknown in the Arabic-speaking world. I fear that my book in French, *Écrire et transmettre dans les débuts de l'Islam*, has fared little better than my articles in German with which, in terms of subject matter, it has much in common (though an English translation of this book is in preparation). An English translation of my work was, therefore, a desideratum and I was extremely gratified when Dr James Montgomery, a respected colleague and dear friend, informed me two years ago that, thanks to the Wright Studentship Fund of the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Cambridge, he was in a position to realize this project which he had conceived much earlier. Accordingly, my sincerest thanks go to the *spiritus auctor* of the project and editor of the volume. I would also like to thank him for writing an introduction which engages with my work so closely and with such richness of concept and content, and for compiling the Glossary and Index. Equal gratitude is owed to Dr Uwe Vagelpohl who mastered the difficult task of translation with consummate skill and who carried out the many changes and revisions with commendable patience. He also compiled the Bibliography and assumed responsibility for the electronic preparation of the manuscript. I shall remember our collaboration with pleasure.

Finally, I should like to thank the managers of the Wright Studentship Fund for their generous financial support, the publisher, Routledge, and the editors of the series, Roger Allen, Philip Kennedy, and James Montgomery, for including the book in their series.

Gregor Schoeler
Basel, July 2005

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The narrator of L. P. Hartley's novel *The Go-Between* (1953) declares that, "The past is a foreign country. They do things differently there." Among the many different sights, practices, customs, habits, and behaviors which might baffle us on our visits to any past, we may encounter some which appear reassuringly familiar, from the recognition of which we can derive some reassurance, if not pleasure. Yet the "familiar" and the seduction of recognition are the Scylla and Charybdis of any journey into any past, for our contentment may beguile us, despite our best efforts, into unwittingly misconstruing the "familiar," be it through anticipation, for example, or through the suppression of the unfamiliar in that which is but superficially familiar, or through the elision of the unfamiliar by garbing it in the guise of the familiar.[1] As an example of the last of these, we can take our various, intellectual and scholarly, responses to the phenomena of variety and variation in the textual remnants of any literate society, in our case the societies and individuals who together constitute what we refer to as "early Islam," the Islam of the first three Muslim centuries (seventh to ninth centuries AD).

I Fluidity, variety, and variation

Let me review some instances of textual variety and variation and the responses which they may elicit in Arabic writings from the period.

Among the many fascinating items which Arabic-speaking intellectuals of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries took from the medical and philosophical tradition of Late Antiquity and which proved to be an especially fecund nexus of diverse appeal is a text (in Arabic terms, a *habar*: see the Glossary) which deals with the physiological and psychological aspects of love-sickness. This text has been edited, translated, and comprehensively and imaginatively studied by Gutas and Biesterfeldt (1984) who christened the text "The Malady of Love," identifying some 17 versions across five centuries from its earliest appearance in Arabic in the gnomology of the Christian translator and scientist Hunayn ibn Ishāq (d. 260/873 or 264/877) to its inclusion in the biographical lexicon of the "martyrs of love" by 'Alā' ad-Dīn Mugulṭāy (d. 762/1361).[2]

belongs to the gnomological tradition in which it is attributed to Hippocrates; a "long version" belonging to what they term the "paramedical" tradition, the attribution of which is "varied"; a "hybrid version" put in the mouth of Pythagoras and exclusive to the *adab* tradition (see the Glossary), to which Mugulṭāy's text belongs; and a "dramatized version" developed in the "occult tradition" in which Aristotle is quizzed by various "pupils" (Zosimus, Agathodaimon, etc.) to explain love-sickness. Through the judicious construction of a very complicated stemma, the editors are able to map the wanderings of this text through its various inflections by diverse aspects of the intellectual tradition, thus emphasizing (though not accounting for) its extraordinary appeal:

We are thus in possession of a late Alexandrian text, in Arabic translation, which through a skilful combination of disparate elements in Greek medicine and the *Problemata Physica* presents the most systematic and consistent account of the malady of love given in humoral medicine. Paradoxically, because it apparently originated outside Greek medicine proper and hence outside a medical context, it found its way neither into Byzantine nor into Arabic medicine and remained, in Greek, essentially a literary text transmitted in the *Problemata* or gnomological traditions. In Arabic translation, the same lack of an established and binding medical context facilitated this time its pseudepigraphic diffusion and paved the way for its integration in the literary and occult traditions in various forms of inventive adaptations.[3]

The variety of this micro-unit is thus an inventive variation. Because of the broad diversity of its appeal, it is a fluid text, and by virtue of its fluidity it is messy. And as readers of the tradition we might be inclined to misunderstand the creative potential of the essential messiness of the *jabar*. In these respects, the "Malady of Love" is emblematic of the majority of micro-units within Arabo-Islamic oral and literary traditions, principal among which are the narratives of the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions, known in Arabic as the *ḥadīṯ*. Chapter 5 of this book is an exemplary analysis of the potential for metamorphosis which such units of information enjoyed in the classical Islam of the traditionalists, the tradents, carriers, of the Prophetic Tradition.

Longer texts, often presenting themselves in the form of "books," can also be characterized by the fluidity of the "Malady of Love" micro-unit, and the nature of many such works as manifestations or residues of Islamic pedagogical practices is brilliantly studied by Gregor Schoeler (hereafter GS). Yet this is only one type of fluidity among many. Another type of fluidity is perhaps more accurately described as "agglutination," an instance of which is the disquisition on sexual abstinence by the fourth/tenth century Christian Aristotelian, the Baġdādī philosopher Yaḥyā 'bn 'Adī (d. 363/974).[4]

This composite text exists as a singleton manuscript copied in the year 1725 AD and now kept in Cairo. The manuscript itself divides the text into two sections, Yaḥyā's treatise and a response of a companion to three questions which Yaḥyā had posed. In fact, it is composed of four parts: (1) the disquisition (*maqālah*) itself; (2) Yaḥyā's quotations from an anonymous communication (*muḫāṭabah*) written by one of his friends (friend a) to another (friend b) in response to Yaḥyā's own *maqālah*, a letter which apparently contained objections voiced by friend a to friend b as a consequence of friend b's misinterpretations of friend a's development of the arguments Yaḥyā expressed in his treatise (1), though Yaḥyā does not appear to have had access to the full texts of the correspondence; (3) three questions on the matter under discussion posed by Yaḥyā addressed to the correspondents; and (4) a copy (*nushah*) of one correspondent's reply to Yaḥyā's three questions and Yaḥyā's systematic rejection of his objections and amplification of his principal arguments.

This work presumably exists in the form in which Yaḥyā 'bn 'Adī left it, but it can hardly be said to be a "book" in any standard (modern) sense of the word. Indeed, reading it as a "book" has led a number of scholars completely to misconstrue it and has generated a considerable degree of confusion as to the accurate identification of what in the words of Griffith (forthcoming) is:

A virtual glimpse into a living, inter-communal discourse from the past in progress . . . for Yaḥyā and his friends the conversation was itself the philosophy, or perhaps the philosophy was the idiom of the conversation.

Thus, simply, the act of reading is itself an act of interpretation and a series of responses which are all too fallible.[5]

This fallibility, however, is something which we, as modern readers far removed (in time, space, experiences, assumptions, and beliefs) from the materials which we read, share with our predecessors who themselves formed part of the very tradition which we are reading. In other words, members of the indigenous tradition were themselves readers of that tradition, and as such just as prone to erroneous readings, though not necessarily or always errors of the same stamp as those to which we are prone.[6] This emerges most acutely and with crystal clarity from GS's review in Chapter 6 (pp. 106–115) of the tradition's responses to the lexicon of al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. between c.160/776 and 175/791), the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (the *Book of [the Letter] ʿAyn*). This review allows us to speculate (though GS does not allow himself this luxury) as to the reasons why the indigenous tradition responded to the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* in the ways in which it did, be it inspired by idealizations of the figure of al-Ḫalīl, determined by the visions of scientific and epistemological progress which were subscribed to, or occasioned by reading the lexicon as a "book" in the sense of a fully finished product endowed by its creator with a distinct shape, acts of reading enhanced by fluctuations in the very conception of "composition" (*taʾlīf, taṣnīf*: see the Glossary). These speculations are not, of course, mutually exclusive.

At the same time as negotiating these complex and tangled issues of messy and varied textual traditions, in the case of pre-modern Islam we must begin properly to recognize the importance of a nexus of notions which depend upon what we might refer to as "authorized" fluidity; in other words, in many cases there was no one single act of authoring or moment of authorization whereby a composer endowed his work with his stamp or seal of authorship.

Thus, the first universal history written by a Christian in Arabic was the *Kitāb at-tārīḫ al-maǧmūʿ ʿalā 't-taḥqīq wa-'t-taṣdīq* (*The Book of Chronology Collected on the Basis of Verification and Assent*) by the Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria, Saʿīd ibn Biṭrīq, also known by his Greek name, Eutychius (d. 328/940). When at the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century, Yaḥyā 'l-Anṭākī came to continue this world chronicle, he was confronted by a variety of versions of the work:

Before I embarked upon the composition (*taʾlīf*) of this book, I scrutinised a number of copies (*nusaḫ*) of the book of Saʿīd ibn Biṭrīq, I discovered that some of them contain the history as far as the beginning of the caliphate of al-Qāhir, i.e. the year in which Saʿīd ibn Biṭrīq was made patriarch of Alexandria [i.e. 321/933]. But, [various] additions had been appended to some [copies] for [one] reason [or another] on the part of the compiler[7] of the book, though they were not contained in any other copy.[8] So I looked at the copy of the original (*ʿaṣl*) itself and other copies of the book—the [material] which they contained ended during the caliphate of ar-Rāḍī, i.e. the year 326 AH. It is on the basis of this copy in particular that I have begun this book, because it is the most complete copy in terms of exposition (*šarḥ*) and the most proximate [to Saʿīd ibn Biṭrīq] in time. Now I think that the reason for the deficiency of the final portions of some of these copies and the incompleteness of their coverage of the contents of the copy of the original is that the book was copied at various times during the lifetime of its composer (*muʾallif*); this copy then became known as it passed around among the people; and each one of the copies in its entirety contained the history up to the time in which it was written.[9]

Thus, at the very heart of a great many texts which belong to the first four centuries of classical Islam there exists not one but a multiplicity of copies, in a way which poses a significant challenge to the very notion of editing a text based on the construction of a stemma which will give the scholar access to the copy of the work closest to the writer in time (and thus, it is presumed, in intention).[10]

The validity of the traditional methodology of text editing developed by classical philology, and expressed with consummate concision by Maas (1958), has been attacked in a variety of intellectually cognate disciplines as well as in Classics. Reynolds and Wilson, for example, countenance horizontal as well as vertical transmission, and have wondered whether "all surviving manuscripts can be traced back to a single archetype, datable to the late ancient world or early Middle Ages."[11]

In the study of the early medieval history of Europe, a group of scholars from the Universities of Utrecht, Vienna, Leeds, and Cambridge have instituted a forum for the study of issues subsumed under the categories of "Texts and Identities," central to which is the realization that the differences which the manuscripts, scribal traditions, and recensions of a work represent are fundamentally of greater hermeneutic significance than the realities which they agree on.[12] Thus, the traditional practice of text editing, predicated upon the elimination of these differences, is not only a distortion but also an impoverishment of the multiplicity of the early medieval world. This is not, however, a call for the abandonment of the construction of stemmata, but for a rearticulation of the uses to which such stemmata are put, based on modifications of the epistemological assumptions (presumptions?) on which the technique is based. Stemmata are, thus, one of the several mechanisms available for the investigation of a text's past and not the exclusive means at our disposal for its recreation.[13]

These four instances, albeit largely chosen at random, are, in varying degrees and with differing emphases, representative of a significant proportion of the textual heritage of early Islam, which, in the matter of the production of poems, narratives, texts, and documents, was a culturally dynamic and kaleidoscopic blend of writing and orality, a blend which was never stable, but was rather protean in its creative possibilities, as a range of inflections of which a thinker and his followers could avail themselves in the expression and production of this ideas. When we add to this blend the emergence of the religious doctrines of Muhammad as the "illiterate" Prophet[14] and the inimitability of the Qurʾān, it becomes clear just how vital the interfaces between the oral and the written were for early Islam. It is the enduring merit of the articles by GS translated into English in this volume to have offered scholarship a foothold in the charting of these possibilities, in a series of studies which are exemplary for the careful meticulousness with which the evidence is reviewed and presented.

II Gregor Schoeler

The published works of GS impress for a number of reasons, principal among which is the imposing range of topics and subjects which they cover.[15] Central to his project is the study of classical Arabic poetry, in particular the poetry of Abū Nuwās (d. c.200/815) (1990, 2001), parts of whose collected poems (*dīwān*) GS has edited (1982), but also the genre known as *zahrīyāt*, descriptions of flora (see his article in EI², vol. 11, pp. 399–402), and the *qifah* (see the Glossary) (see his article in EI², Supplement, pp. 538 ff.), the poetry of Ibn ar-Rūmī (d. c.283/896) (1996b), and especially the strophic poetry of Islamic Spain, al-Andalus (1991) (see, for example, his articles *Mawashshah*, EI², vol. 7, pp. 809–812, and *Zadjal*, EI², vol. 10, pp. 373–376). Equally prominent are the works on the biography of the Prophet Muhammad (for summaries of which see Schoeler 2002a, 2003 and the article *ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr* in EI², vol. 10, pp. 910–913), in many ways

a development of his studies of the history and genesis of the transmission of knowledge represented by the articles in this book. It is no exaggeration to say that it is this range of scholarly experiences, especially those gained through working with manuscripts and poetry, which has enabled GS not only to perceive the transmission of knowledge within early Islam as a matrix of multifarious and often contradictory phenomena but also to control his lucid presentation thereof.

III The development of the Islamic sciences: a snapshot

It is the hope of the author and the editor of this book that it be as accessible as the detailed treatment of its subjects allows to scholars not familiar with Islamic studies but with an interest in the oral and the written.[16] To that end, as editor, I have put together this brief survey of the subjects (and their interconnectedness)[17] that are touched upon in this book and have compiled a rough and desultory guide to some basic readings. The sample is by no means authoritative, let alone exhaustive, but contains works which my experience in the classroom and discussions with students suggest to be good places from which to start. My two criteria for inclusion are that the books must be readily accessible and must be written in English.

Before one can begin to appreciate the development of the Islamic sciences, and in particular gain a sense of their complementarities during the first three centuries after the *higrah* (the exodus of Muhammad and the early Muslims from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD), one needs to acquire an idea of the narrative of the emerging development of the responses of the Muslims to the divine fact of the Qur'anic Revelation—in other words, of the processes whereby the Muslim community of Mecca became the Islamic empire of the 'Abbasids in Bagdad.

Brief historical surveys are provided in R. McKitterick (ed.) *The Times Medieval World*, London, 2004. See "The Arab Conquests" (by R. McKitterick), pp. 24–27 and "The Abbasid Caliphate and Subsequent Fragmentation" and "Islam and Islamic Culture" (by J. E. Montgomery), pp. 78–85. More substantial histories are found in Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, London, 2002 (edited by Malise Ruthven) and Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, Cambridge, 2002 (second edition).

The standard narrative political history for the period covered by this book is Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates. The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*, London and New York, 1986 (reprinted in 2004). Individual periods are covered in Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs from the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam*, London and New York, 2001; Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad. A Study of the Early Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1997; G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam. The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750*, London, 2000; and Hugh Kennedy, *The Court of the Caliphs. The Rise and Fall of Islam's Greatest Dynasty*, London, 2004b.

A good all-round introduction to the Islamic world (premodern and modern) is F. Robinson (ed.) *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World*, Cambridge, 1996. G. Endress's *An Introduction to Islam*, translated by

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C. Hillenbrand, Edinburgh, 1994, is an excellent handbook full of accurate and concise information, while Malise Ruthven's *Islam. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, 2000 is just that and has much to commend it. Equally rewarding, are David Waines', *Islam*, Cambridge, 2003 (second edition) and Jonathan Berkey's, *The Formation of Islam. Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800*, Cambridge, 2003. Many of the positions taken by Ignaz Goldziher, which have stamped their imprint on so much of the modern Western study of premodern Islam, are readily accessible in his lecture course *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, translated by Andras and Ruth Hamori, Princeton, New Jersey, 1981. A more advanced, but essential, reading for a proper appreciation of the background to many of the viewpoints discussed or modified in GS's work is Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, translated by C. M. Barber and S. M. Stern, edited by S. M. Stern, London, 1971, in two volumes. It is presently out of print.

Central to the issue of the oral and the written, as of virtually every aspect of Muslim life and the study of its premodern articulations is the figure of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam and the Messenger of Allah, and the divine status of Islam's Holy Scripture, the Qur'an. Of the abundant material on both subjects, the following are useful places to start: Michael Cook, *Muhammad*, Oxford, 1983 (a concise introduction to both the Prophet and the heavily contested study of his life, written with the author's customary trenchant wit and intellectual independence); Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*, translated from the French (1961; revised edition 1968) by Anne Carter and first published in English in 1971 (this is an excellent sociological account written by an eminent (former) Marxist); and Martin Lings, *Muhammad. His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*, Cambridge, 2004, a traditional history based on Muslim sources. Lings' book was first published in 1983. F. E. Peters, *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam*, Albany, New York, 1994, is, in the author's words, a "quest for the historical Muhammad." Readers may prefer to turn directly to two examples of Prophetic biographies by Muslim scholars: the first, composed by Muhammad ibn Ishaq in the first half of the second/eighth century and edited in the third/ninth century by Ibn Hisam during the period covered in this book: *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah*, translated by A. Guillaume, Karachi, 1967; the second, from the eighth/fourteenth century: Ibn Katir, *The Life of the Prophet Muhammad (al-Sira al-Nabawiya)*, translated by Trevor Le Gassick, Reading, UK, 2000 (in four volumes). A collection of articles, many translated into English for the volume, with an excellent introduction on the methodological problems involved in the study of the life of Muhammad, is Uri Rubin (ed.) *The Life of Muhammad*, Aldershot 1998, Volume 4 of the series *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World*.

The collected revelations communicated by Allah through the Angel Gibra'il (Gabriel) to His Messenger Muhammad are known as the Qur'an. There are many translations and renderings of the Qur'an in English: *The Bounteous Koran: A Translation of Meaning and Commentary*, London, 1984, by M. M. Hatib, is the version endorsed by al-Azhar University in Cairo and contains both text and translation on facing pages; the recent version by M. A. S. Abdel-Haleem, Oxford

On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, Oxford and Cambridge, 1996 is a thorough rebuttal from the Muslim perspective, while a recent contribution to the debate is Wael B. Hallaq, *The Origins and Evolution of Islamic Law*, Cambridge, 2005. A survey of articles is to be found in Wael B. Hallaq, *The Formation of Islamic Law*, Aldershot, 2004, Volume 27 of the series *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World*. The beginnings of Mālikism have been studied by Yasin Dutton in *The Origins of Islamic Law. The Qur'ān, the Muwaṭṭa' and Madinan 'Amal*, Richmond, 1999.

By the first quarter of the fourth/tenth century, *fiqh* was instituted as the formal counterpart of theology, known as the "roots of the religion" (*uṣūl ad-dīn*) or the *kalām* (lit. speech, or discourse). It was the task of Islamic theology to defend the religion against polemical attack from other religions; originally, Christians, Manicheans, and Zoroastrians proved barbative opponents, though polemic against the Jews also emerged during the fourth/tenth century. From its very inception, however, such polemic was also an intra-community affair as sectarian movements within Islam itself were put to the test. In order to defend the religion, the basic principles of the religion had to be forged as intellectually credible and theologically robust and at the same time remain true to the Revelation of the Qur'ān. At present, good, accessible books on Islamic theology in English are something of a rarity. Although out of date, W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology. An Extended Survey*, Edinburgh, 1985 is competent, though preferable (despite its occasional infelicities of translation and the absence of an editorial hand) is Tilman Nagel, *The History of Islamic Theology. From Muḥammad to the Present*, Princeton, New Jersey, 2000 translated from the German original (published in 1984) by Thomas Thornton. An early theological system currently enjoying a revival of interest and relevance in the contemporary Islamic world is Mu'tazilism (see entry "Mu'tazilite" in the Glossary for a brief explanation). This phenomenon forms the subject of Richard C. Martin and Mark R. Woodward (with Dwi S. Atmaja), *Defenders of Reason in Islam. Mu'tazilism from Medieval School to Modern Symbol*, Oxford, 1997. A useful analysis of two tendencies of Islamic theological thought ("rationalism" and "traditionalism") is given by Binyamin Abrahamov in *Islamic Theology. Traditionalism and Rationalism*, Edinburgh, 1998, and a sense of the thrust of some of the issues and debates typical of this intellectual activity can be gained from A. Kevin Reinhardt, *Before Revelation. The Boundaries of Muslim Moral Thought*, Albany, New York, 1995. For the period discussed by GS in this book, Michael Cook's *Early Muslim Dogma. A Source-Critical Study*, Cambridge, 1981 is essential and has recently been reprinted (2003) but it will not be easy reading for the neophyte. The adventurous will benefit greatly from reading *Al-Ghazālī and the Ash'arite School*, Durham and London, 1994, the most accessible book by Richard M. Frank, the foremost expert of the classical *kalām* in the English-speaking world. Although al-Ghazālī died in 505/1111, some two centuries after the purview of GS's work, his writings are among the most accessible of any classical Arabo-Islamic intellectual works. Translations of central works will be found in al-Ghazālī's *The Incoherence*

of the Philosophers, translated by Michael E. Marmura, Provo, 1997; *Deliverance from Error. Five Key Texts Including His Spiritual Autobiography, al-Munqidh min al-Dalal*, translated by R. J. McCarthy, Louisville, Kentucky, n.d (a work which originally appeared in 1980 under the title of *Freedom and Fulfilment*).

Central to both the *hadīth* and *fiqh* is a concern for the precise dating of the occasions on which the Revelation was granted to Muhammad and the Muslims (known as '*asbāb an-nuzūl*). These inquiries led to the compilation and composition of annalistically and chronologically arranged histories (*tarīḫ*, lit. "fixing a date"), an impulse which was nourished by the demands of the *hadīth* as it came to depend upon a precise knowledge of the reliability of the transmitters included in any chain of authority (*isnād*); the transmitters were arranged in a sequence of generations which should lead back (through Successors [known as *tābi'ūn*, lit. "followers"] and Companions [*sahābah*]) to direct (personal) acquaintance with the Prophet Muhammad.

The crowning achievement of this religiously driven, annalistic approach to the writing of history is *The History of the Prophets and Kings* (*Tarīḫ ar-rusul wa-'l-mulūk*) of the jurist and Qur'ān exegete Muhammad ibn Ǧarīr at-Ṭabarī (d. 314/923), which is now available in an English translation in 38 volumes published between 1984 and 1998 (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, Albany, New York), achieved by a team of scholars working under the general editorship of Ehsan Yar-Shater. Classical Arabo-Islamic historical thought is explored in Tarif Khalidi's, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, Cambridge, 1994, while Islamic historiographical writings form the subject of Chase Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, Cambridge, 2003.

Philosophy is customarily considered to be outside the purview of the Islamic sciences. There is every sense, however, that in its earliest phases, philosophical speculation was also conducted in response to the twin credal doctrines central to much theological speculation: the absolute unicity of Allāh (known in Arabic as *tawḥīd*); and the justness of the Creator (known in Arabic as '*adl*). A sense of the astonishing sweep of Arabic philosophy (narrowly conceived, in the sense of the Arabo-Islamic interpretations of the Late Antique philosophical heritage) is immediately apparent from even a cursory glance at Franz Rosenthal's *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, translated by Emile and Jenny Marmorstein, London, 1992, a magisterial survey conducted through translations with comments and introductions. The dynamics of the 200-year-long process of rendering into Arabic that which was Greek, are meticulously dissected with razor-sharp analysis by Dimitri Gutas in his *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)*, London and New York, 1998. The intellectual explorations of this phenomenon by Muslim philosophers during the course of about a millennium are now surveyed in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, edited by Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor, Cambridge, 2005. Some examples of their works are available in *Medieval Islamic Philosophical Writings*, edited by Muhammad Ali Khalidi, Cambridge, 2005.

Finally, reference works. There are four basic works in this category, which require regular consultation. *The Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*, edited by Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey, London and New York, 1998 (in two volumes), is based on an inclusive definition of "literature" and so encompasses entries on philosophers and grammarians, as well as terminology and so much more. A similar inclusiveness of approach characterizes *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Leiden, 1999 (in progress; 4 of the 5 volumes have appeared to date), where readers of this book will find good treatments of many subjects apposite to GS's concerns. Finally, for those who know some Arabic, the fundamental reference work is the *New Edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, the first volume of which appeared in 1960, and now running to some 11 volumes. Work on this major resource is nearing completion and preparation for a third edition is well underway. Finally, the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, London, Costa Mesa, and New York, 1985, is a massive project of which 11 volumes have appeared to date. Its entries are often more voluminous than those of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, but its idiosyncratic (Persianate) transliteration system will render it difficult for beginners to use.

Our readers will also find much of benefit in the ambitious five-volume project, *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, of which the first three volumes are immediately relevant: *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, edited by A. F. L. Beeston *et al.*, 1983; '*Abbasid Belles-Lettres*, edited by J. Ashtiany *et al.*, 1990; and *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, edited by M. J. L. Young *et al.*, 1990. Though in so many respects a flawed project, these volumes contain useful articles on the principal domains of Islamic scholarship discussed in this book.

Lastly, a book on one of the 'real' subjects of this study is Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print. The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*, New Haven, CT and London, 2001.[18]

IV "The Oral and the Written"

In the first chapter of *The Oral and the Written*, originally the second of the articles gathered here to have been published, GS reviews previous, predominantly European (and particularly German),[19] scholarship on the subject of orality and writing within the context of the Islamic sciences of the first three centuries of the development of Islam as a tradition and system of beliefs. These scientific disciplines all share one common feature: their reliance on the 'isnād, the chain of authorities used to specify the personal contact which existed between transmitter and his source.

Writing (or more precisely the fixation of writing in published form) tends, in an age of large-scale publication, to the hegemonic as a practice. Intolerant of other, related practices such as the codification of knowledge in orally transmitted formats, it verges on the exclusive and can entail the obsolescence of oral practices. Furthermore, published writings often assume a mantle of authoritativeness,

tied as they are with notions of property and finality—an author will generally retain copyright of the material thus published and will (usually) aim to have bestowed a final blessing of completion on any work thus released for the public domain. In this sense, authoritativeness, property, and finality act as guarantees of authenticity and originality. The implication of this guarantee is that oral traditions, when viewed from these vantage points of writing, are considered to be unreliable and unfixed, common, indeed communal, property because they are the fruit of collaboration and co-operation, and as such devoid of "originality." In this sense, they represent a challenge to the authenticity conferred by writing because of their tendency to defy historicity, their reluctance to yield themselves to any fixed point in time. Thus they are elusive and threatening—or rather defiant, of writing's hegemony. These tensions are merely augmented by the extra dimension of the *transmission* of knowledge and learning, that is, how societies ensure that the body of ideas, beliefs, and items of information which they hold to be crucial to their sense of self-identity are to be continued and made available to future generations. Or, in other words, how societies endeavor to shape and control their own destinies.

This (modern) intolerance of the written for the oral is further complicated within the Islamic tradition by several factors, and it is these factors which GS sets out to put in context: the existence of large-scale compilations of disparate bodies of material often of, in epistemological terms, equally disparate generic parentage; the role of written and oral sources within the composition of these compilations, sources which they often purport to replicate; the significance of the formal structure of these sources, generally cast within the format of a personal (oral) transmission via a chain of authorities that connect the scholar with an aboriginal (at times utopian) past and which signify his means of access to that past[20]; the co-existence, from the earliest period of pre-Islamic history, of oral and written structures for the codification of knowledge; and the prolific use of a laconic vocabulary to describe these processes of transmission and codification.

In the deep background loom the figures of the mid-nineteenth century scholar Alois Sprenger (whose distinction between lecture notes, aides-mémoire and published books prove to be so important for GS's analyses)[21] and the late nineteenth/early twentieth century "father" of Islamic Studies as an academic (namely Western) discipline, the Hungarian Ignaz Goldziher whose seminal surveys of the materials detailing the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad (the *hadīt*)[22] dictated the program for the study of this intellectual, cultural, and religious phenomenon in the Western academy. A prominent role is accorded the papyrological findings of Nabia Abbott and the theories of Fuat Sezgin, whose remarkable and monumental survey of the traditional Islamic disciplines, with their wealth of prosopographical and manuscriptorial material, had appeared in the course of the two decades prior to the publication of the original version of the chapter.[23]

Sezgin's work promised much—a way in to the Garden of Eden, by allowing for the wholesale restoration of texts from the earliest strata of intellectual activity within the Islamic sciences, for if these compilations were based on exclusively

written sources, then formally their primordial existence as writing could guarantee their authenticity and banish the cankerous doubt of falsification and inauthenticity which orality seemed to involve by virtue of its fluidity and contingent character. Furthermore, modern philology would thus be in possession of a solid concept of *authorship*, and one which is reassuringly familiar to modern attitudes.

However, studies carried out by other scholars attendant upon Sezgin's declarations tended to suggest precisely the opposite of what he had argued, that is, that his newly discovered works were, in fact, but recensions of earlier texts, and not even especially early recensions at that. And yet against this evidence, there is to be found in the Arabic source texts a plethora of references to the writing down of these dizzyingly diverse recensions by the scholars in question. It is this disparity in the assessment of the evidence which GS surveys in the preamble to the chapter, versus writing), is frustratingly contradictory and tendentious.[24]

It is worth remarking from the outset that GS sets out to develop a framework which will best account for all the available evidence, a framework which is as faithful as possible to what we know of the indigenous traditions of Islamic learning. In other words, his is as scientific a hypothesis as the evidence will allow—and the hypothesis proposed in Chapters 1 and 2 is put to the test in Chapters 3, 5, and 6. It has yet, in my estimation, to be shown not to be the hypothesis which best accounts for all the available evidence. And of course it has implications for the vexed and controversial issue of authenticity but it is to GS's credit that in these preliminary chapters he refuses to slip from hypothesis to theorizing.[25]

For GS, central to the whole debate are the characteristics of classical Islamic pedagogical methods of scientific instruction. He establishes three teaching methods: the *samāʿ* ("audition"), the *qirāʾah* ("recitation"), and the *wiǧādah* or *kitābah* (written "copying" of material). In Section I of Chapter 1, the relevance of this pedagogical practice for an informed appreciation of the development of the *ḥadīt* is addressed as a preliminary foray, and divergence in traditions and recensions is accounted for in terms of variation in presentation, recording, and transmission. In Section II of Chapter 1, the concept of a "definite, fixed shape" given to written materials which belonged to the lecture tradition is explored, with the important conclusion that in the process of transmission even seemingly "finalized" works could undergo some degree of alteration.

If works thus released did not retain a shape bestowed upon them by those who composed or compiled them, how can we meaningfully apply the label "author" to them? This problem dominates Section III of Chapter 1, where GS muddies the distinction between author and transmitter as fruitful descriptors of the participants in the establishment of any work thus compiled, offering instead a series of distinctions concerning narrator, author, first editor, and second editor, in order the better to capture the "processes of redaction, modification and revision." It is at the end of this section that GS emphasizes one of the foundational notions which gave meaning to these procedures, the desire on the part of the Islamic scholars to ensure the authentication of material rather than to assert originality and ownership.

The copying (*wiǧādah* or *kitābah*) of such "books" (in the loosest sense of the term) were of comparatively minor importance for the large-scale *ʾisnād*-based compilations which form GS's primary focus. Section IV of Chapter 1 addresses the nature of the sources on which these compilations drew, while Section V of Chapter 1 proceeds to banish the hermeneutic worth of lazy formulations such as "written transmission" versus "oral transmission" (one historian has called such formulations "labour-saving devices") and further to elucidate the point made at the conclusion of Section III, that knowledge could only be reliably and authentically disseminated through the lecture system in which oral and written practices complemented each other. Section VI contains three pointers for the directions which GS's subsequent investigations will take: parallels from the Jewish tradition (see Chapter 5); the transmission of pre- and early-Islamic poetry (see Chapters 3 and 4); and the continuation in the Islamic period of late antique pedagogical practices (see Chapter 2). The focus of Chapter 1, then, is those Islamic scientific methodologies which largely depended upon the *ʾisnād* as their principal mechanism for the provision of information.

In Chapter 2, originally published 4 years (1989) after the article on which Chapter 1 is based (1985) and thus the third article of this collection to be published, GS extends the compass of his inquiry to include those disciplines which did not depend upon the *ʾisnād* as their principal mechanism for the provision of information. Once again, the burden of inquiry is the exact transmission procedures demanded by the three disciplines in question: grammar, lexicography, and medical and philosophical instruction. These epistemologies are from an early time onwards marked by the production of "properly edited books (in the strict sense)" and commentaries composed for the elucidation of these books (p. 46).

After a brief summary of the findings of Chapter 1, the chapter is divided into three sections: Section I is devoted to the Late Antique Hellenistic (particularly Alexandrian) teaching tradition; Section II considers the fields of grammar and lexicography, while medico-philosophical instruction dominates Section III.

In 1930, the eminent scholar of the Graeco-Arabic translation phenomenon (the project to render the bulk of Late Antique Greek heritage into Arabic which was initiated under the aegis of the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs and which ran out of steam in the second half of the fourth/tenth century),[26] Max Meyerhof published an influential study of the tradition which maintained that philosophical instruction in Baġdād was the direct epigone of the Alexandrian academic curriculum.[27] Several studies have contributed to the dissolution of this imagined direct link and to the better understanding of the dynamics of the process, GS's study among them.[28]

At stake is, as so often in the study of the origins of Islamic cultural, religious, or political institutions, the very question of the "originality" of Arabo-Islamic civilization, though all too often this question is phrased in terms which prejudge the issue and find in favor of the tradition from which the borrowing is made—as if, in other words, we were to deprive Virgil of any creativity because he "based" the *Aeneid* on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer. GS takes great care to point out the differences as well as the similarities in both pedagogical traditions, electing instead

to talk of "structural similarities" rather than "direct dependencies" (p. 48). Thus, we encounter lecture notes (aides-mémoire) ascribed to both teacher and student and books circulating under a student's name which are essentially reworked versions of a teacher's works, as well as records of lecture commentaries on fixed texts. We are also encouraged to stress, however, the significance for Islamic practices of their emphasis on "audited transmission," a significant idiolect which marks its difference to the Alexandrian tradition, as well as the range of possible zones of influence, both internal and external, to which Islamic teaching methods may have been exposed. He also, however, capitalizes upon the benefits offered by this survey of Alexandrian practices to import a terminological distinction made simply and clearly in Greek which will become fundamental for his analysis of the Arabic textual tradition, namely, that between the *hypomnēmata* ("private written records intended as a mnemonic aid for a lecture [or a conversation]") and the *syngrammata* ("literary works composed and redacted according to the canon of stylistic rules") (p. 46).

Section II is dominated by the intriguing observation that within the domain of Arabic grammar written and published books seem to have been produced earlier than within other domains (towards the end of the second/seventh century), prominent among which is the *Kitāb* ("The Book") of Sībawayhi (d. *c.*180/796),[29] Having established the character of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* as a book "with a fixed shape," GS proceeds to discuss the transmission of the manuscripts of the work, and notes an important influence thereon from an *ʾisnād*-based method: chains of transmitters (*riwāyāt*) declaring "an uninterrupted sequence" of transmission which thereby link any given owner with the author of a work (p. 50). This influence encompasses Prophetic tradition (*ḥadīṯ*), juridical reasoning (*fiqh*), Qurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*) as well as works of philology and history. Thus, GS can conclude that the technique of *qirāʾah* was the most natural transmission method for books in the strict sense (i.e. *syngrammata*) (p. 50).

The early scriptorial history of Arabic grammar is concluded with a preliminary discussion of the shadowy figure of al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad, the teacher of Sībawayhi.[30] Chapter 6 of the present book is devoted to a fuller discussion of the role of al-Ḫalīl within the textual foundation of Arabic lexicography to which GS devotes the most substantial proportion of Section II.

In many procedural respects, Arabic lexicography enjoyed a close propinquity with the *ḥadīṯ* and was characterized by sessions of "dictations," the written records of which consist of units of information each with their own *ʾisnād* and *matn*. Generically then this discipline should be classed among those dominated by *samāʿ*, with the important exception that for lexicographical books in the strict sense, once they became available, "*qirāʾah* was the most suitable form of transmission," usually accompanied by "the explanation of a work by a teacher" (p. 58). This is confirmed by the observation that there are documented instances in which the study of books (in the strict sense) in accordance with the technique of *samāʿ* was reserved as a mark of respect for a scholar's peers or superiors.

The influence of an *ʾisnād* method on the domain of medico-philosophical instruction forms the subject of Section III.[31] GS concentrates on the practice of *qirāʾah* which is significantly afforced by being recast in the form of an *ʾisnād* of Ibn al-Ṭayyib[32] and his student Ibn Buṭlān and notes the domination of the method of *qirāʾah* which is significantly afforced by being recast in the form of an *ʾisnād* of scholars who "read before" their respective teachers in a sequence which spans some one and a half centuries. Furthermore, the influence of such methodology is not confined to the mechanics of transmission and authorization, but also includes an important estimative dimension, in that (according to the seven-point argument elaborated by the Christian Ibn Buṭlān in his attack on his Muslim opponent Ibn Riḍwān)[33] "audited transmission" is declared to be epistemologically more reliable than plain and exclusive book learning. In the process of constructing his argument, Ibn Buṭlān elicits support from the stance of *ḥadīṯ* scholars and philologists who were opposed to an exclusive reliance on written sources. In addition, we are left to ponder the cultural dynamics of a Christian scholar valorizing the techniques of that most Islamic of epistemologies, the science of *ḥadīṯ*, in an attack on a Muslim opponent who is thus found wanting.

In 1992, the article, the fifth of the series, which is here translated as Chapter 3, was published. It is at one and the same time an archaeology of writing and writing practices from the pre-Islamic period to the late-second/eighth century, the period with which GS begins his investigations in Chapters 1 and 2, and a scrutiny of the cultural role which Islamic writing played in early Islamic society. Those readers unfamiliar with Islamic Studies as a discourse could best and most profitably approach the subject matter of this book by beginning with Chapter 3. A shortened version of the article appeared in an English translation in the journal *Arabica* 44 (1997), pp. 423–435, with a brief introduction by Prof. Claude Gilliot. Correspondingly, then, it is widely and frequently referred to in Anglo-American scholarship.

GS's archeological survey covers five principal domains: the use of writing for important documents such as alliances, contracts, and treaties and the fixing of these documents in public places as a testament to what had been agreed; the role of writing in the composition, transmission, and preservation of early Arabic poetry from pre-Islamic times to its codification in anthologies and *dīwāns* during the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid period; the emergence of composed books "with a fixed text" (p. 72); the first collections of the Qurʾān and the origins of Qurʾānic readings which led to the development of the science of Qurʾānic readings; and the legalistic conception of writing as a document which requires corroboration through oral testimonies.

GS plausibly postulates a pre-Islamic existence of the practice of writing for the recording of important decisions and adduces in support of his postulate a range of material, noting the relevance of the recording of the name of the scribe of such documents and the significance of the exhibition in the Kaʿbah (which Muslims believe to be the "House" of Allāh at the heart of the Sanctuary of Mecca) of several especially important documents. Official epistles, letters of protection,

and treaties, all issued by the Prophet Muḥammad, belong to this category of writings.

The "publication" of such documents differed from that of the principal form of pre- and early-Islamic creative activity, poetry, often referred to as the *dīwān al-ʿarab* (the cultural, historical, and poetic register of the Arabs), for poetry was designed for oral recitation in public performance. The role of the poetry transmitter, known in Arabic as *rāwī*, is crucial for a proper appreciation not only of the conservation of these poems but also, as GS is at pains to make clear, of their possible, and occasional, improvement. At the very heart of the Arabic poetic experience, then, lies a shared activity between the poet, the *šāʿir* (the one who "feels" the poetry) and the transmitter, the *rāwī* (the one who "twists" it into shape).

Such an approach is fundamentally alien to standard Western conceptions of either the creative act or the poetic impulse and is downright inimical to obsessions with "textual accuracy and the faithful transmission" (p. 67) of an original, to say nothing of its incompatibility with "the idea of a written redaction." Such a technique is attested well into the third/ninth century (among, for example, the learned transmitters, often referred to in Western works as *rāwiyāt*) and satisfactorily accounts for the plethora of "improvements" which the tradition records for the most ancient of poems.[34]

And yet, there is another surprise in store for us: the attestations of the use of *written* collections of poems, a feature which GS explains as comparable to the coterminous habit of writing down the *ḥadīṯ* material—both traditions had in common the ever-widening discrepancy between ideal and reality, as poets and scholars resorted more and more to written materials as aides-mémoire, intended to facilitate both lecturing and the public performance of their amassed learning. Parallel to the *ḥadīṯ*, too, is the absence of fixed texts transmitted in a standardized form, though here too, GS, ever sensitive to the cornucopian abundance of variety in the traditions he is studying, suggests that we can see in a couple of caliphal commissions "anticipations" of publication, on the one hand, and continuations of the practice of depositing important writings in holy locations, on the other.

It is worth pausing briefly to reflect on the idea of progress which is celebrated in the custom of relying on "heard," oral transmission for the preservation of bodies of knowledge of particular significance (be it religious, cultural, spiritual, or emotional) to early Islamic societies. As GS indicates, this procedure, "was intended to retain flexibility: what was good . . . was to remain open for future improvement." The guarantor of the success of this procedure is the scholar, properly trained in all of the system's complexities.

When Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* was translated into Arabic as part of the project to make Aristotle's *Organon* available to Muslim intellectuals, ʿAbbāsid thinkers would have been exposed to a different conception of scientific discovery and progress, one which proved remarkably fertile in (among others) the domains of philosophy (al-Fārābī [d. 339/950] and Ibn Sīnā [d. 428/1037]) and geography (al-Masʿūdī [d. 345/956] and Ibn Ḥawqal [d. after 362/973]).[35] It was upon this concept of scientific progress that Alexandrian scholars (and following them, their

Syriac Christian epigones) had based an edifice of philosophical and pedagogical pedigree.[36]

According to this approach, the discovery or invention of any thing (be it, for example, a craft or a discipline: the specific case which Aristotle is discussing is rhetoric) is the hardest step of all; once achieved, however, advancement is both additive and cumulative, occurring steadily and in steps (with each step being easier to take than the originary moment of inception), as the discovery is incrementally improved and brought, through augmentation, to perfection.[37]

A civilization's ability to accommodate creatively the kind of tension which was thus generated between these two apparently antagonistic visions of progress is a marker of its receptiveness of diversity, of the facility with which it can house competing worldviews. A consummate expression of this capacity for creative combination is the figure of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī (d. 629/1162–1163), whose autobiography is eloquently emblematic of the conceptual elasticity that characterizes so many articulations of classical Islam.[38]

One cannot emphasize adequately the difference which obtains between a modern concept of historical veridicality (in which the emphasis is placed on data, such as numismatical, archeological, or epigraphical and written evidence) and this conception of historical accuracy (i.e. as guaranteed by the reliability of the transmitters), one of a matrix of ideas which included the concept of *ʾiǧmāʿ* (consensus) in Islamic legal thinking and one which is cognate with the theory of *tawātur* (i.e. that repeated transmission of an item of information will eventually lead to an acceptance of that item of information as knowable with certainty)[39] — in this vision of the past, the Islamic community (the *ʾummah*) is a continuum of believers, in which Muslims in the present are intimately linked with their pious forebears (the *salaf*).[40]

GS's reflections on the "validity of legal documents in legal procedures" (p. 82) and on the "contingent or restricted value" of writing are brilliant explorations of this phenomenon. It is to his great credit that he connects the Islamic articulation with a discussion between Socrates and Phaedrus in Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus*. One of the abiding interests in Plato's compositional craft and the intrigue of his philosophy is the paradox that, through the figure of Socrates and the technique of the Socratic inquiry, he sought to demonstrate the insufficiency of writing as a way of doing philosophy, whence the importance of Socrates's paradoxical claim that the sum of his knowledge is that he does not know.[41] These are the ideationally fecund tensions at the heart of writing in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

The question naturally arises in the course of these deliberations: what was the first "book" composed in Arabic, that is, a work released by its writer with a fixed text and intended for general circulation and not dependent on "audited" transmission (*samāʿ*)? The Qurʾān springs most readily to mind but the complexities of its "communal" collection and the belief that its "author" is Allāh require separate and

extensive treatment (see Sections IV and V, Chapter 3). The answer, previously addressed in Chapter 2, is the grammatical book (al-Kitāb) of Sībawayhi, the seven introductory chapters of which are traditionally called ar-Risālah (The Epistle) and which may have originated as an actual epistle (risālah). The works surveyed meant the poetic production of both the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic periods.

As we will have come to expect from GS's surveys of the complex and kaleidoscopic permutations of the relationship between the oral and the written in early Islam thus far, the Qur'ān, the central document in the Muslim consciousness and in so many respects perdurably emblematic of Islamic civilizations irrespective of their many shifting patterns throughout their long histories, presents an involved and complex series of interactions between book and recitation, between the written and the oral. This revelational multiplicity is encapsulated in the very word qur'ān, which means both "recitation" and "lectionary,"[42] and is epitomized by the fact that according to Muslim tradition the Prophet Muhammad did not "edit" the complete Qur'ān into any fixed shape before his death, though indigenous Islamic tradition does refer to the practice whereby the Prophet dictated the Revelation to a number of scribes, chief among whom was Zayd b. Ṯābit (d. c.45/666), the individual entrusted by the Caliph 'Uṯmān with spear-heading the definitive recension and codification of the Qur'ān by "a group of prominent Qurašites" (p. 76),[43]

Between these two events, the dissemination and recitation of the Qur'ān became the preserve of the Qur'ān readers (the qurrā'). In the aftermath of the creation of the 'Uṯmanic codex, and after a period in which the essentially uniform text (known in Arabic as the muṣḥaf) and the orally preserved text vied for supremacy, there occurred a shift in attitude away from riwāyah bi-'l-maʿnā (paraphrastic transmission in which the sense of the text is what counts) to riwāyah bi-'l-lafẓ (literal transmission in which verbal accuracy is paramount) as the 'Uṯmanic codex emerged victorious.

Out of the diversity of the practice of the Qur'ān reciters there arose in turn the tradition of the seven qirā'āt, the canonically sanctioned sets of possible readings of the 'Uṯmanic muṣḥaf (codex) of the Qur'ān, each represented by an eponymous scholar. Thereby, the community once again ensured that its central document was representative of its constituents, for of these 7 scholars, 1 came from Mecca, 1 from Medina, 1 from Baṣrah, 1 from Damascus, and 3 from Kūfah (Section IV). Of course, once canonized, the seven qirā'āt themselves occasioned a genre of scientific writing in which the teachings of the seven eponyms were recorded, transmitted, and released by their respective students, a process which evolved in tandem with the development of the ḥadīṯ (Section V).

Thus ends that part of the present collection which surveys the phenomenon of the written and the oral, broadly conceived.

Chapter 4 was the first of the collection to have been published, in 1981. In terms of this book, it marks the beginning of a series of three detailed and meticulous studies each of which is devoted to one area of investigation, in this case, "ancient Arabic" poetry. It is also at the same time a review article of a book by

Michael Zwettler which appeared in 1978, The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry: Its Character and Implications. Despite the technicalities of some of the analyses, it has much to offer the reader, especially in terms of GS's shrewd and perceptive comments on the character and nature of ancient Arabic poetry, by which is meant the poetic production of both the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic periods.

The brief scholarly life of Milman Parry (who died at the age of 33 on December 3, 1936) produced a series of publications dedicated to explicating the nature of the tradition in which the ancient Greek ("Homeric") epics the Iliad and the Odyssey were produced through paying close attention to the style employed in the composition of these works. The burden of his work, continued by his students, most notably Albert Bates Lord, is that the style used in these poems is "typical of oral poetry" (Parry, 1971a, p. lxi, n. 1).

It is far from clear whether Parry himself drew from this observation the (indefensible) inference that "Homer was himself an oral poet," in other words whether Parry himself would have taken the step which Lord took, from oral-formulaic style to oral-formulaic composition. Whatever the truth of these matters, for most of the twentieth century this theory of oral-formulaic composition (the Parry/Lord theory or "oral poetry theory," in GS's words) enjoyed an astonishing popularity in Anglo-American scholarship and was applied to a stunning plethora of traditions, modern, and premodern, from Old English to Irish, from Hispanic to Byzantine Greek. It has even encompassed the Bible within its ambit, with studies of, for example, the Gospel of Matthew (Lohr, 1961), though to the best of my knowledge it has not yet been applied to the Qur'ān. Two prominent publications in the 1970s by Monroe (1972) and Zwettler (1978: the book to which this chapter is devoted) in which it was applied to ancient Arabic poetry seemed to herald the discovery of the Holy Grail, or the finding of Hiram's Key to allow us to unlock that most resistant of all forms of premodern Arabic creativity, ǧāhilī (pre-Islamic) poetry.[44]

It was, however, not to be. And GS shows us precisely why it is not a licit presumption to identify a poem the style of which may bear some resemblances to features generally considered typical of improvised epic poetry (occasional formulae, a scarcity of enjambment, and stereotypical themes) as an oral-formulaic composition (as described by Radloff, Parry and Lord). This distinction between the style of ancient Arabic poetry and oral-formulaic poetry is fundamental and vital, for while there can be no doubt that ancient Arabic poetry was, predominantly though not exclusively, transmitted orally, this is not a sufficient warrant for any inference as to the process of composition which the poem underwent (or subsequent processes of "composition" which it may have undergone in the course of its oral transmission). The fact that many publications devoted to ancient Arabic poetry still perpetuate this confusion is an indication of the hold which the oral-poetry theory continues to exert over modern scholarship in our area.

GS's study also forces us to confront (once more) a radically different notion of creative ownership, for although the poets took great care over their productions, they also returned to them, and revised them, and allowed them to be revised (by their transmitters, rāwīs), thus sanctioning the circulation of a multiplicity of

versions of any one poem as effectively the same poem. Perhaps greater precision is required here, for this appears to have been a phenomenon proper to the art form known as the *qaṣīdah*, usually a polythematic poem, on average of approximately 70–100 verses in length, composed with the same end rhyme and in the same meter; there are 16 canonically "recognized" meters. The *qaṣīdah* is the most cherished art form in the Arabo-Islamic creative pantheon.

A brief digest of the principal features of the Parry/Lord theory and its indebtedness to the ideas of the nineteenth century Turcologist W. Radloff (pp. 87–88) leads GS to his engagement with Zwettler's work, the main features of which are summarized (pp. 88–90). His disagreements are based on three points; flaws within the theory itself; flaws within Zwettler's "concept of the ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* poetry"; and the theory's inability to offer even a satisfactory account of one of its purportedly most indicative features, the abundance of variants in the recorded versions of any given poem (p. 91).

In the first of his disagreements GS relies on the work of others within the tradition of not only Homeric but also medieval German scholarship. This leads him to his first major point; epic poetry, the genre which the Parry/Lord theory set out to explain, is anonymous, whereas ancient Arabic poems are, "almost without exception" attributed to a poet. A well-judged comparison with old Icelandic poetry (between epic Eddas which are anonymous and Skalds which are occasional poems) produces the following observation: 'a lack of anonymity in one tradition and its occurrence in the other(s) *depends* on the poetic genre involved.' The problem lies with the term "heroic"—ancient Arabic poetry is certainly "heroic" (the poet battles against the desert, against loss, sometimes even against his tribe or his society, and is defiant in his celebration of a powerful sense of self and of commitment to his value system) but it is not "epic" (in any meaningful sense of the term from a literary-historical perspective; the poet's struggle is in ■ non-technical sense epic, in terms of its scale, for example).

Improvization figures prominently in the oral-poetry theory, and it is attested as a compositional device within the tradition of ancient Arabic poetry, though here too GS is careful not to allow the slippage in the term to confuse us, for the similarities between oral-poetic improvization and *ǧāhilī* poetry are similarities in name only, with improvized poems in the latter tradition being characterized by their brevity. In fact two ancient Arab poets were renowned for the length of time which they expended on their creations: the "year-long" *qaṣīdahs*,[45] and there is good evidence to suggest that the *qaṣīdah* poems were the products of great artistic solicitude and as such were viewed as "literary property" (p. 97). Accordingly, accusations of plagiarism were not unknown.

Yet how can ■ poet be accused of plagiarizing the formulae used by another poet, if oral poetry is typified by its utilization of ■ common pool of formulaic expressions which belong to the tradition and not to any one individual within that tradition? A careful analysis of what Zwettler identifies as a "formula" leads GS to promote the notion that, in the case of repetitions across time, "later poets were familiar with... the verse in question and were somehow responding to it" (p. 99)

and to advance, in line with many other scholars, the applicability to the Arabic poetic tradition of the concept of the *topos* as exemplified in the work of Ernst Robert Curtius. The success (and limitations) of the "topical" approach to Arabic poetry are evident in many articles devoted to 'Abbāsid poetry.[46]

But what of the profusion of variants which ancient Arabic poetry confronts us with? Does the Parry/Lord theory offer us the only adequate explanation of this profusion? GS turns to twentieth century records of recent poetic practice among the Bedouin for some orientation and suggests that we might profitably begin to approach the phenomena of different versions of an ode or a line or variants within a line as originating either with the poet himself or with the poet's transmitter(s) who were sanctioned by consuetudinal practice to revise and improve the *qaṣīdahs* they were charged to transmit. To this must be added the "vagaries of the *qaṣīdah*," the inevitable "errors in the process of oral transmission," mistakes on the part of the redactors, forgeries, and editorial improvements. That variations are not ■ defining feature of the "orality" of ancient Arabic poems is conclusively established by a telling comparison with the poetic production of the early 'Abbāsid poet Abū Nuwās (d. c.200/815) which being understood to the written and not the oral tradition. The aptness of the comparison is merely underlined by this poet's renown ■ a brilliant *improvizer* of verse. The chapter concludes with a brief review of one branch of the creative heritage in Arabic which is most definitely amenable to ■ approach based on the Parry/Lord theory, the folk epic.

In Chapter 4, GS addressed one of the four pillars of the traditional approach to Islamic Studies in the West, ancient Arabic poetry. In Chapters 5 and 6, he applies his theories to two of the remaining three pillars, the *ḥadīṯ* and the indigenous linguistic tradition (*naḥw* and *ʿilm al-luġah*): the Qur'ān is discussed only in passing in this book.[47] It is also important to realize the centrality of the *ḥadīṯ* within the Islamic disciplines, for the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad touch on every aspect of Islamic belief, being, for example, of relevance to the exegesis of the Qur'ān (*tafsīr*) or the articulation of the law (*fiqh*) and theological doctrine (*kalām*). Consequently, whatever view one holds concerning the development of the *ḥadīṯ* will have ramifications for how one views many other features of the premodern Islamic intellectual heritage.

We have had occasion to mention the fundamental incompatibility between a Western conception of verifiable data based upon independent evidence (and thus predicated largely upon "facts": in the last half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, "facts" were fetishistic icons of verifiability, and the most sublime "facts" were written documents) and that which largely obtained in the Islamic sciences, according to which verifiability was guaranteed by trustworthiness of character (and which thus, according to the Western vision, was suspect precisely because it was not "independent"). This lack of compatibility has manifested itself most acutely in the domain of Western *ḥadīṯ* scholarship, which, until recently, has begun from ■ default position that any given *ḥadīṯ* is not only unverifiable but is inauthentic or forged, with the burden of proof being on the establishment of its genuineness (though this is largely presumed to be

impossible), whereas Muslim scholars start from the assumption that any given *hadīt* is verifiable, authentic, and genuine, from which point they proceed to weed out what they consider to be the forgeries. This has certainly been the Islamic approach at least from the time of the great canonical collections in the third/ninth century, but it may conceivably antedate the production of these textual collections by about a century or so (though this statement is far from uncontroversial).

The history of this Western approach has now been written from two contrasting perspectives, from the Muslim viewpoint by Muhammad Siddīqī (and Abdal Hakim Murad) (1993) and by Harald Motzki (2004) and the interested reader is referred to these works. Central is the figure of Joseph Schacht whose *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* appeared in 1950 (Oxford) and met largely with approbation and acclaim. To begin with, dissentient voices in the West and the Islamic world went largely unnoticed, their formulations either ignored or ostracized to the periphery.

The formulations of Nabia Abbott and Fuat Sezgin did much to redress the balance, though (as we have seen) GS has established beyond a shadow of doubt the untenability of Sezgin's theories and the need to modify Abbott's. Schacht's very idiosyncratic historical theories aside (concerning the irrelevance of legal *hadīt*, for example, for the early Islamic community), his principal legacy to the study of the *hadīt* is formal, the identification of a mechanism whereby the common link (CL) in ▪ chain of authorities (*ʾisnād*) is established for a set of variants of any given *hadīt*.[48] By the 1980s, this formal mechanism had been further developed by G. J. H. Juynboll, and it is this revised technique of *ʾisnād* analysis which GS adopts and combines with appraisals of the text of the sayings (i.e. in Muslim terminology the *matn*), with a view not to confirming Schacht's (untenable) theories but rather to attempt to trace the processes whereby the *hadīt* developed, by concentrating exclusively on one family of contradictory *hadīts*, those dealing with the very issue of the writing down of the *hadīt*. The *hadīts* in favor of written recording had further been adduced by scholars such as Sezgin and Abbott to argue that the *hadīt* had ▪ long tradition of being committed to writing (and as such fell within the Western purview of empirical verifiability), thereby delimiting any postulated tradition of oral transmission.

GS's first move is to return to ▪ observation made by an earlier scholar, Josef Horovitz, concerning the parallels between the history of the development of oral and written doctrine in Judaism and Islam. The relationship is not one of dependency, with Islam being considered a development of Judaism, but of independent polygenesis, of two traditions in which written records formed a feature of pedagogical practice (*hypomnēmata*). Therefore, what the sources confront us with is a "theoretical" aversion to the commission of the *hadīt* to writing: this aversion is no less real for being "theoretical." Furthermore, in Iraq there was a widespread aversion to the public consultation by a scholar of his written records for the transmission of the tradition. This geographical approach prioritized "recitation from memory" (p. 115) to a greater extent and for longer than elsewhere in the Islamic world, finally falling into desuetude with the centralization of scholarly

activity in the caliphal capital, Bagdād. Thus, all protestations to the contrary, the ▪ "preclassical' *musannaf* works (collections arranged thematically into chapters)" (p. 114) existed in writing about 100 years before the canonical collections of the last third of the third/ninth century.[49]

But whence these protestations, why the aversion, and why the valorization of memory? Veneration of the Qur'ān is the principal explanation adduced, among several others—a reluctance to acknowledge the authority of ▪ written corpus tantamount to the divine Revelation, combined with a desire to reserve for scholars the right to avail themselves of "the opportunity to modify, accommodate and, if necessary, to change, indeed even to abrogate certain rules," in other words, to preserve and maintain a living tradition (p. 120). This preservation of the tradition as *living* led to a consensus which assumed the aura of a taboo, one which would not even ▪ large-scale compilation of the *hadīt* by az-Zuhrī at the behest of the Umayyad caliph Hišām could check.[50]

Thus, geographical diversity of practice in recording and transmitting the *hadīt* becomes antagonism between East and West, between Iraq and Syria, and this ▪ in turn manifests itself in the emergence of "*hadīts* against the written recording of traditions," and in an increased emphasis being placed on the vital pertinence of memory. The last section of the main part of the chapter, pp. 127–129, examines the history of the *hadīt* in favor of the written recording of traditions, which, while its advocates eventually "won the day," was curbed (from any challenge to the textual hegemony of the Qur'ān) by its hierarchical subordination within a 'pedagogical tradition that valued "audited" transmission and remained deeply suspicious of "transmission by way of mere 'copying' . . . *kitāb(ah)*" (p. 129).

This is a difficult chapter, the argumentation is close and careful and it will present severe challenges to those readers not familiar with the finer points of *hadīt* scholarship, so much in evidence in the diagrams and their commentary (pp. 130–140). We should not lose sight, however, of GS's control of his material and of his refreshing insistence on the historical significance of geographical diversity (identification of the principal geographical centers of learning as represented by the chain of authorities in ▪ *ʾisnād* is ▪ key component of *hadīt* analysis)— ▪ pertinent reminder that we should not consider the Islamic lands, for ▪ll their unity under Islam, to be uniform in the homogeneity of their traditions, practices, values, and aspirations, but should view them rather as microclimates within one prevalent system.[51]

The article translated as Chapter 6 originally appeared in 2000, about a decade later than Chapters 2 and 5 and eight years after Chapter 3. In it GS turns to a thorny problem in the early history of Arabic lexicography, one which occasioned significant problems for the classical Islamic scholarly tradition and for its modern descendants, the authorship of the earliest Arabic lexicon, the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (*The Book of [the Letter] ʿAyn*) attributed to the legendary scholar al-Halīl ibn Ahmad. This chapter is remarkable on three counts: GS's success in clarifying the complex and often contradictory evidence concerning the authorial activities of al-Halīl and his disciple al-Layt ibn al-Muzaffar; his exposition of the reception

history of the problem among classical Muslim scholars, a survey which reminds us that premodern reception histories can be just as liable to the meanderings and tergiversations of interpretation as their modern counterparts; and his introduction (pp. 151–152) of ■ third technical term borrowed from Hellenistic Antiquity, after the manner of Werner Jaeger's study of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (1912), *gramma* (pl. *grammata*), ■ "writing of the school for the school."[52]

If al-Ḥalīl (d. between c.160/776 and 175/791) is really the author of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, and al-Ḥalīl, as we know, was the teacher of the grammarian Sībawayhi (d. c.180/796), now generally held to be the author of the first ■ "book," properly speaking, in Arabic (after the Qurʾān, of course), then our ideas concerning the date of the appearance of the first "book" (in fact the first scientific treatise) would require revision by about a quarter of ■ century or so. The issue, then, is of crucial importance for GS's reconstruction of the history of writing and "publication" in early Islam. We have already been presented with ■ outline of the differences in practice between lexicography and grammar in Chapter 2, pp. 49–58, where the issue of al-Ḥalīl's authorship of a book on grammar is also discussed.[53]

The *Kitāb al-ʿayn* is organized in accordance with ■ set of phonetic criteria based on a classification in terms of where in the human vocal apparatus the sounds of a word's radical letters are generated, beginning with the laryngeals and concluding with the labials.[54] According to this scheme, the letter *ʿayn*[55] is the phoneme produced at the deepest point of the larynx and thus is accorded pride of place in the arrangement of the entries. As a lexicographical principle, this approach did not meet with huge success.[56] The chapter, then, starts with a survey of the reception of al-Ḥalīl's lexicon in modern scholarship and the discordant theories which this work has generated. The issue revolves around the extent of the involvement in the composition of the work of al-Ḥalīl's student al-Layt ibn al-Muẓaffar (d. 200/815–816), a participation about which the introduction to the lexicon is really quite explicit, and which led two earlier scholars (Bräunlich and Wild) to credit al-Ḥalīl as the creative genius at work in the devising of the scheme and to identify al-Layt as the individual entrusted with realizing his master's theories. This basic position was accepted by Talmon. Yet, it was the Polish Arabist Danecki who noted ■ discrepancy between al-Ḥalīl and Sībawayhi in their theoretical approaches to phonetics—in other words it is clear that the pupil was unaware of his master's teachings in this regard, despite the plethora of references made by Sībawayhi to al-Ḥalīl's grammatical teachings. Thus, we are left with the curious observation that the more sophisticated phonetic system (al-Ḥalīl's) is purported to be considerably older than Sībawayhi's less developed system. Therefore, according to one prevalent theory of scientific progress (the broadly meliorist adaptation of Aristotle's theory presented in the *Sophistici Elenchi* that increasing complexity, as the product of continued experimentation, is an indication of the advancement of knowledge and as such must be temporally posterior to any evidence of systematic or theoretical simplicity), al-Ḥalīl's complex phonetics must be later than Sībawayhi's simpler model.[57] In addition to this curiosity, there is the troubling absence of any references to al-Ḥalīl's theories in his capacity as *lexicographer*

(*luġawī*) as opposed to *grammarian* (*naḥwī*) in later works, a claim made even by as-Sīǧistānī (d. c.250/865), later head of the Baṣrian school of linguists; and finally the perplexing detail that the work arrived in Baṣrah from Ḫurāsān.

Close reading of the terminology used in passages from the lexicon to introduce al-Ḥalīl's own ideas lead GS to the conclusion that he "had begun to write a proper book for *readers*, more particularly for *dictionary users*" (p. 151), a finding which consequently allows us properly to historicize Sībawayhi's otherwise quixotic decision to "publish" his grammar book, the *Kitāb*. Discussion of the transmission of al-Ḥalīl's lexicon shows that it did not take place systematically in debating circles or lecture courses (methods which al-Ḥalīl used for his other teachings on grammar, metrics, and musicology), that this public "parsimony" with the lexicon is characteristic of both al-Ḥalīl and al-Layt, and that the text of the lexicon was subjected to the customary process of revision at the hands of later scholars.

The chapter concludes with ■ detailed analysis of the genesis of "the different medieval and modern views on al-Ḥalīl's authorship" (p. 153 ff.) as they struggled to come to terms with the uneven character of the text of the work, their sole access to possible reconstructions of the composition history of the lexicon. Thus, the classical Islamic tradition can itself be the product of a series of responses to textual problems; it does not represent an uncomplicated continuum; strategies of reading were just as liable to change and development ■ the works to which they were applied; and an individual's (idealized?) fame could also determine the parameters within which that individual's compositions were read by posterity, premodern, and modern.

V   Division of labor

For those who like to know such things, we worked according to the following pattern: Uwe Vagelpohl (UV) produced an excellent first translation, which was edited by JEM and then by GS. In consultation with GS, JEM wrote the Introduction and compiled the Glossary and the Index, which UV realized electronically. UV also supervized the electronic preparation of the manuscript. It has been a genuine privilege to work with two scholars who have displayed such unfailing commitment to the project and who have persevered with an editor's whims with commendable tolerance.

I first conceived the idea of producing these translations just over a decade ago but was unsuccessful in finding any monies to make it possible. It has been my great good fortune to be able to acknowledge the support of the Wright Studentship of the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Cambridge. The fund exists, among other things, "for the promotion of the study of Arabic in any other way which the Electors may from time to time determine." We are grateful to the Electors for determining to support this volume, which is, we hope, a work fully within the scholarly tradition so ably represented by William Wright.

1

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE SCIENCES IN EARLY ISLAM

Oral or written?

Hitherto, controversy has surrounded the issue of whether the major compilatory works of the Arabo-Islamic sciences composed between the second/eighth and fourth/tenth centuries, marked by their use of ʾisnād (chain of transmitters), depended on mainly written or oral sources. Examples of such compilations are the *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭaʾ* (*The Book of the Well-Trodden [Path]*) by Mālik Ibn Anas (d. 179/796), the *Kitāb al-maġāzī* (*The Book of the Campaigns*) by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767), the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*The Sound [Compilation]*) of al-Buḫārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875), at-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) *Tarīḫ* (*History*) and *Tafsīr* (*Qurʾān Commentary*), and Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 356/967) *Kitāb al-aġānī* (*The Book of Songs*).58

In her *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*,59 Nabia Abbott advocated an early and incremental written tradition, based on a plethora of evidence such as Umayyad papyri fragments. Fuat Sezgin proposed in his *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*60 ▪ method for the reconstruction of the (as he maintains, exclusively written) sources of these compilations.61 He further maintained that he had discovered a number of early source texts on which the late compilations were based.62 With the work of these two scholars, earlier claims about a largely oral transmission of the Arabo-Islamic sciences▪ up to the time of the major compilations63 seemed to have been laid to rest.

[202] (The numbers in brackets refer to the pagination of the original articles on which the translation is based.) In the meantime, however, several studies testing Sezgin's method and claims have cast doubt on the exclusively written character of these sources. At best, the newly discovered, purported source texts proved to be later arrangements or different, but by no means earlier recensions of those source texts, that is, recensions which were not drawn on in the well-known later compilations (e.g. at-Ṭabarī's *Tarīḫ* [*History*]). One example is the so-called Qurʾān commentary of Muǧāhid (d. 104/722), actually the *Tafsīr Warqāʾ ʿan Ibn Naǧīḥ ʿan Muǧāhid* (*The Qurʾān Commentary of Warqāʾ on the Authority of Ibn Abī Naǧīḥ on the Authority of Muǧāhid*).64 At worst, they turned out to be extracts from later compilations, for example, Abū Miḫnaf's (d. 157/774) presumed *Kitāb al-ġārāt* (*The Book of Raids*), which is in fact a part of Muḥammad ibn Aʿṯam al-Kūfī's (d. after 204/819) *Kitāb al-futūḥ* (*The Book of Conquests*) in which Ibn Aʿṯam exclusively quotes traditions from Abū Miḫnaf.65

Moreover, studies of works extant solely in divergent later versions have uncovered a high degree of discrepancy between those different versions. For this reason, literal, and sometimes even complete, quotations of (more or less codified) books, which, according to Sezgin, had already taken place at an early date in the transmission of scientific knowledge,66 seem highly unlikely. As a result, Sezgin's optimism in claiming to be able "to reconstruct many old source texts in their entirety from later compilations"67 was unjustified. Al-Samuk's study dealing with the different extant recensions of Ibn Isḥāq's biography of the Prophet (Ibn Hišām's [d. 218/834] *Sīra* [*Biography*]), at-Ṭabarī's Ibn Isḥāq-"quotations" [203] etc.) has shown that, due to the innumerable variants found in the different textual traditions, a reconstruction of Ibn Isḥāq's material would evince confusing inconsistencies.68

Wełmeister's study on the sources of the *Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd* (*Book of the Unique Necklace*) established that sources demonstrably available to the author in manuscript form had little impact on the work. Alleged borrowings by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940) from actual books which previously had been considered his models and sources (al-Ǧāhiz's [d. 255/868–869] *Kitāb al-bayān* [*The Book of Eloquence (and Exposition)*], Ibn Quaybah's [d. 276/889] *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-aḫbār* [*The Book of the Wellsprings of Reports*]) for the most part exhibit substantial differences from their supposed counterparts in the aforementioned texts. Only an indirect connection can plausibly be posited.69 All this ▪ to point towards oral transmission. Advocates of written transmission can, however, argue against these two studies as follows: in the case of Ibn Isḥāq, credible authority has it that the put his history down in *writing*,70 while for Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, some of his supposed oral sources are texts which had been put into a *fixed written* form by their authors.

Today's uncertainty about the question of oral versus written transmission is fittingly illustrated by M. Fleischhammer's statements on the sources of the *Kitāb al-aġānī* (*The Book of Songs*), a subject which he studied intensively. He maintains on the one hand that "Nowadays, ... there is widespread agreement that, in most cases, these ʾisnāds conceal written sources" while on the other, he states: "Often enough, we cannot disprove beyond doubt the existence of ▪ genuinely oral tradition."71

[204] In what follows, we will attempt to solve this problem by proposing ▪ theory which can, we believe, reconcile what seems to be diametrically opposed points of view. It should be added that this theory emerged as a result of ▪ careful consideration of the results of previous, established research rather than renewed source studies and that, in the course of our examination, we felt compelled to return to the view of A. Sprenger on ▪ number of essential points. He was the first Orientalist to deal with this question.72

The theory will be formulated in six points. For a better understanding of our argument, it will be helpful to illustrate some of the characteristics of the Islamic practice in the teaching of the sciences. Modern academic lecture courses, the "Vorlesung," shall serve us as a model. The institution of academic lecture

courses, practised in antiquity (some of Aristotle's works were only transmitted through lectures), was familiar to Muslims, too, under the label *samā'*, namely, "audition."73 This form of teaching, which involved the students *listening to* ■ teacher's (*šayḫ*) or his representative's recitation given on the basis of written notes or from memory, is generally regarded as the superior mode of transmission. Only *qirā'ah*, "recitation", later also known as *'arḍ*, "presentation", was considered equal. Like *samā'*, it took the form of a lecture, in which the student, in the presence of his teacher, either recited material on a subject from memory or read it out from his written notes. The teacher listened and made corrections. These "lectures" were held in *maǧālis* or *muǧālasāt* (sessions) and *ḥalaqāt* (circles), which in earlier times often took place in mosques, sometimes also in other places, for example, ■ scholar's home.74 Apart from these two methods of transmitting information, simple copying of notebooks (*wiǧādah*, [205] *kitābah*, etc.)75 emerged early on. Inasmuch as the text in question was not "heard" from an authority, its transmission was regarded as inferior.76

I

On the basis of extensive evidence collected by Abbott and Sezgin, it has become clear that, in the very beginning, writing was used sporadically, and that, over time, its use to record *ḥadīṯ*, legal rulings, historical information, poetry, and so on became more and more widespread.

We should note in particular that this also applies to *ḥadīṯ*. Interestingly, academic discussion about written tradition in the earliest period is less heated than that concerning the phase immediately prior to the composition of the major compilations. On the one hand, Goldziher explicitly asserts that initially, *ḥadīṯ* was not exclusively intended to be orally transmitted and provides evidence that it had also been put into writing sporadically at a very early stage.77 On the other, Abbott78 and Sezgin79 admit that after this earliest period, there were occasionally religious misgivings against putting *ḥadīṯ* into writing. This very early stage, however, will not be dealt with in the following discussion.80

The existence of *ḥadīṯ* literature preceding the canonical *ḥadīṯ* collections is a much more controversial issue: should we, with Goldziher,81 date the beginning of the *muṣannafāt* (works systematically arranged into thematic chapters) to the time of al-Buḫārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875) or place it with Sezgin82 a century earlier? Similarly, we could for example inquire after the existence of *fiqh* literature before Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/796) or historical *books* before Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767) or even, substantially later, aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), as well ■ after the existence of *codified works* of literary history preceding Abū 'l-Faraǧ (d. 356/967) and so on.83

[206] Against the existence of written *ḥadīṯ* collections prior to al-Buḫārī (and of other contemporary works in different fields of learning), scholars have since Goldziher quoted certain topoi frequently found in the sources such as *mā ra'aytu/a*

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fī yadi-hī kitāban qaṭṭu ("I [one] never saw a book in his hand") or *lam yakun la-hū kitāb 'inna-mā kāna yaḥfaẓu* ("he did not have ■ book, but used to memorise it/keep it in his memory").84 These topoi, obviously highly laudatory, have been reported in relation to exponents of several areas of learning, for example, *ḥadīṯ* (Sa'īd ibn Abī 'Arūbah, d. 156/77385, Wakī' ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ, d. 197/812),86 *fiqh* (Sufyān aṯ-Ṯawrī, d. 161/778)87 and philology (Ḫalaf al-Aḥmar, d. c.180/796)88, Hammād ar-Rāwiyah, d. c.156/773)89; and Ibn al-A'rābī, d. 231/846).90

These expressions should not, however, be viewed in isolation from their context: reports about the teaching and learning methods of the respective scholars. Mostly, they indicate that ■ authority lectured without notes (as Abbott and Sezgin correctly point out).91 Since the reports explicitly mention it, this was obviously the exception, not the rule. It does not support Goldziher's interpretation that ■ these scholars shunned "paper and book."92

To substantiate this claim, we will now turn to several reports [207] concerning Wakī' ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ,93 who, according to Goldziher, "shunned paper and book." Our sources identify Wakī' as one of those authors who wrote *muṣannafāt* (*ḥadīṯ* collections systematically arranged into chapters) long before al-Buḫārī. Indeed, we read about him that

Sufyān aṯ-Ṯawrī's *ḥadīṯ* on the authority of the *šayḫs* [i.e. according to their transmissions] (*mā ruwiya li-Wakī' kitāb qaṭṭu wa-'amlā 'alay-him Wakī' ḥadīṯ Sufyān [aṯ-Ṯawrī] 'an aš-šayḫ*).94

To conclude that Wakī' had no records of Sufyān's *ḥadīṯ* or no written notes whatsoever would, however, be wrong. The same source reports only a little later that Wakī' once said: "I never used to write down a *ḥadīṯ* from Sufyān [sc. during his lecture], but committed it to memory. Upon returning home, I wrote it down" and also "I haven't looked in a book for fifteen years, except in a notebook one day."95

There is absolutely no contradiction between the custom of writing material down and consulting it when needed on the one hand and the practice of lecturing from memory on the other. Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965)96 says about Wakī' that

he belonged to those who (for the purpose of seeking knowledge, *ṭalab al-'ilm*) travelled (*raḥala*), wrote down (*kataba*), collected (*ǧama'a*), systematically arranged (*ṣannafa*), committed to memory (*ḥafiẓa*), discussed and reviewed (*ḏākara*)97 and disseminated (*bazza*).

Of course, ■ *šayḫ* with a restricted amount of traditions could have worked without written records. It is, however, clearly false to make such claims in regard to scholars who are said to be authors of voluminous *muṣannaf* works98 or to conclude ■ the basis of this topos, as Blachère did, that Hammād ar-Rāwiyah and, as late as the third/ninth century, Ibn al-A'rābī did not keep written notes.99

It is certainly the case that the records in question were often informal—according to the reports above, Wakiʿ's writings possibly took the form of ordered collections of notes [208] or notebooks[100]—and that the same material, recited from memory, could assume (sometimes substantially) different forms from lecture to the next. This is *one* possible reason for the emergence of varying transmissions or recensions (*riwāyahs*) of one and the same work.

Even in the early period, students often wrote down material the teacher read from a notebook or recited from memory. If the *šayḫ* wanted his students to make records, we have to do with the practice of dictation (*imlāʾ*).[101] According to these sources, dictation courses were held by the traditionists Šuʿbah ibn al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ (d. 160/776)[102] and Wakiʿ ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ (d. 197/812),[103] the traditionist and legal scholar [209] Sufyān at-Tawrī (d. 161/778),[104] the historians aš-Šaʿbī (d. between 103/721 and 110/728),[105] Muhammad ibn as-Sāʾib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763),[106] and al-Madāʾinī (d. 228/843 or some years later),[107] and the philologists Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/846)[108] and Taʿlab (d. 291/904).[109] In spite of the immediate recording of material recited during a dictation and (theoretically at least) its transmission in the shape given to it by the lecturer, in practice variations occurred between different students' versions.

Besides dictations, lectures intended "only" to be listened to were another regular feature of teaching practice in early Islam. Even in these "pure" *samāʿ* presentations, some students occasionally took notes. This was tolerated by some teachers, frowned on by others.[110] Therefore, it was not strictly necessary to have written records in order to transmit material. According to traditionist literature, students in this situation used to concentrate fully in the presence of the teacher on memorizing the subject matter taught during lectures. Afterwards, they quizzed each other about the lecture's contents and finally recorded it at home for future reference.[111] Our sources explicitly report, however, that this was not always the case. Concerning the lectures of the early Qurʾān commentator Muǧāhid (d. 104/722), we learn that only one of his students, al-Qāsim ibn Abī Bazzah, produced a written version. Muǧāhid himself never edited his lectures in book format. However, al-Qāsim's records must have been accessible; all of the transmitters of Muǧāhid's exegetical material, irrespective of whether they heard it from their teacher or not, are said to have copied al-Qāsim's book in the production of their own written versions without, incidentally, ever mentioning al-Qāsim's name in the respective *isnāds*.[112]

[210] To make use of their authorization to transmit ▪ given work they had "heard" through *samāʿ* or *qirāʾah*, scholars in all probability resorted to written records. If they did not have their own notes, they tried to get access to other students' material. The colophon of the sixth/twelfth century unique manuscript of the *Tafsīr Warqāʾ ʿan Ibn ʾAbī Naǧīḥ ʿan Muǧāhid* (*The Qurʾān Commentary of Warqāʾ on the authority of Ibn Abī Naǧīḥ on the authority of Muǧāhid*), studied closely by Stauth (1969), provides the following information: the copyist of the manuscript, who had heard the commentary directly from his two teachers (both of whom were authorized transmitters), used as his exemplar ("Vorlage") the copy

of another member of the circle to produce his own written version quite some time after the lecture had taken place.[113]

Under such circumstances, in which (contrary to the dictations) orally presented material was put into writing on the basis of written notes by different people only after some time had elapsed, the emergence of ▪ wide range of variants between the different versions of a given text is not surprising.

In sum, the occurrence of diverging traditions or recensions could have been caused by the following:

1 variations in a *šayḫ*'s presentation of material;
2 variations in its recording;
3 transmission by his students.[114]

II

Our discussion so far has shown that early Muslim scholars, perhaps even as late as the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries, often did not give their work a definite, fixed shape. It should be stressed, however, that this is not tantamount to claiming that they or their students did not have written records for use ▪ lecture notes or mnemonic aids. In addition, it does not exclude the possibility that ▪ *šayḫ* or another prepared thoroughly revised scripts of his lectures. Yet, it does mean that scholars often did not leave behind or edit books in the sense of final, revised redactions of their material. They presented it in each of their lectures (*samāʿ*) in a more or less different version. When transmitting by way of *qirāʾah*, they often authenticated quite different redactions of their work.

Of Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/796), we hear that he preferred to have his *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭaʾ* (*The Book of the Well-Trodden [Path]*) read to him by his students (i.e. he transmitted via *qirāʾah*).[115] Sometimes, he recited it himself (i.e. he [211] transmitted by *samāʿ*).[116] Occasionally, he is even reported to have issued a copy revised by himself for transmission (this is the technique of *munāwalah*).[117] This means that he undoubtedly produced written versions or had them written out by scribes. Nevertheless, he did not give the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* a final shape; he did not establish ▪ "canonical" version on which the various recensions which have reached us could have been based. In fact, they document various lecture courses by *samāʿ* or *qirāʾah* held over different periods of time and show ▪ high degree of variation.[118]

By illustrating this practice with the model of modern university lectures we outlined at the beginning, we can now establish the following: medieval practice as outlined above is similar to ▪ lecture course conducted by an academic on several different occasions and in different forms. Variations can be caused by frequent departures from the script or by successive revisions. Even if such a lecture course is often available in ▪ revised, written form that a teacher might copy and distribute to students (e.g. as a lecture script), he often does not edit and publish his records as a book. Students, however, could edit it after the teacher's death; Hegel's and

de Saussure's lectures spring to mind. Should such a scholar hand out lecture scripts or should revised lecture records be found later among his papers, students would most likely base their edition on this material. If not, they would have to resort to their own records.

Even at an early stage, though, there are documented instances of scholars giving their work—or a version of it—a fixed form. The best known case is that of Ibn Ishāq, who, at the behest of the caliph al-Mansūr, apparently put down his entire historical material in a book [212] entitled *al-Kitāb al-kabīr* (*The Great Book*).[119] Before and after this written edition, no longer extant, Ibn Ishāq transmitted his material (or parts of it) in lectures.[120] A report about one of his students, Salamah ibn al-Fadl (d. 191/806), tells us that he inherited his teacher's written records (*qarātīs*, i.e. papyri or parchments) and used them for transmission (for that reason, some scholars preferred his Ibn Ishāq-transmission).[121] The remaining transmitters must therefore have made their own records of his lectures or acquired his material in some other way, for example, by copying from others. Thus, the existence of divergent recensions of Ibn Ishāq's *Kitāb al-magāzī* (*The Book of the Campaigns*) does not come as a surprise, even though the author himself had given his material a fixed shape.

We cite another example from the discipline of philology. According to a report quoted inter alia in Ibn Nadīm's *Fihrist* (*The Index* or *Catalogue*),[122] al-Mufaddal ad-Dabbī (d. 164/780) "produced" (*samila*, here probably: recorded in writing) his eponymous anthology *al-Mufaddalīyāt* for the caliph al-Mansūr (as Ibn Ishāq had done with his historical material) or his son al-Mahdī. As Ibn an-Nadīm himself pointed out, the work's recensions differ substantially in length and arrangement of the poems. These variations can only have arisen from different presentations of the material in al-Mufaddal's lectures and divergences in his students' transmission of it. Ibn an-Nadīm seems to prefer the latter explanation, for he designates Ibn al-Aʿrābī's version as the correct transmission.

Coming back to our model once again, we can establish the following: in the cases quoted above, we have academic teachers publishing their lecture notebook as a book (for example, Goldziher's *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910 [= (*Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1981)]. This does not prevent the teacher from using his material (in a different and modified form) in subsequent lecture courses.

[213] The third/ninth century saw a rise in the number of works in the Arabo-Islamic sciences which were given a fixed (book) form (the existence of a dedication or preface[123] may be an identifying mark for such works). Authors were possibly influenced by the practice of the *kuttāb* ("scribes" or "state secretaries"), who themselves wrote books.[124]

While Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838) did not compose the first collection of Arabic proverbs (he did not even write the oldest extant *Kitāb al-amtāl*, *The Book of Proverbs*), he nevertheless was the first to give such a collection a fixed form. Subsequently, the book could therefore be transmitted not only orally in lecture circles, but also outside these circles in manuscript form.[125]

Arabic biographies and bibliographies rarely differentiated between the two procedures—the production of lecture notes and scripts on the one hand and the writing of actual books on the other.[126] On the "book character" of Abū ʿUbayd's work, which distinguished it from earlier writings in this genre, we have the following comment by Ibn Durustawayhi, a fourth/tenth century philologist:[127]

[214] ʿUbayd's work [sc. Abū ʿUbayd's books] is his book on proverbs. He was preceded in this by the Basrians and Kūfans: al-Asmaʿī, Abū Zayd, Abū ʿUbaydah, an-Nadr ibn Šumayl, al-Mufaddal ad-Dabbī and Ibn al-Aʿrābī. He, however, brought together their traditions in his book, divided it into chapters (*bawwaba-hū ʾabwāban*) and arranged it in the best order (*ʾahsana taʾlīfa-hū*).

Thematically, the works of al-Gāhiz (d. 255/868–869) and Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) belong at least in part to the Arabo-Islamic scientific tradition. Both are authors of actual books, which in the case of al-Gāhiz often took the form of epistles, and both were connected with the *kuttāb*: the former had, at the beginning of his career, "published"[128] under the name of the *kātib* Sahl ibn Hārūn (d. 215/830), while the latter had written for the *kuttāb*,[129] for example, his *Kitāb ʾadab al-kātib* (*Book of the Education of the Secretary*).

Contrary to al-Gāhiz, a "book-writing" scholar, his contemporary and fellow Basrian al-Madāʾinī (d. 228/843), [215] a historian and (like al-Gāhiz) author of ʾadab works [see Glossary], was a member of the group of scholars who did not put their writings into a fixed form and only transmitted them through lectures.

It is precisely this difference which is at the heart of the following remark by the historian al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), who distinguishes between the working methods of the two Basrians as follows:

None of the transmitters (*ruwāt*) nor any of the scholars (*ʾahl al-ʿilm*) is known to have written more books than he [sc. al-Gāhiz]...; Abū ʾl-Hasan al-Madāʾinī was also a prolific writer (*kāna katīr al-kutub*), but he used to pass on what he had heard (*kāna yuʾaddī mā samiʿa*), whereas the books of al-Gāhiz [...] remove the rust from the mind and bring clear proofs to light, because he has composed them in the best order (*nazama-hā ʾahsana nazm*).[130]

As we have noted above, even works from the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries, which had been finalized by their authors and some of which are extant in that very version, have been subsequently worked on and transmitted whole or in parts by their authors, their students, or others in lecture courses. In the process of transmission, they have assumed a form different, to a smaller or larger degree, from the version fixed by the author. This process was studied by Werkmeister in his research on the sources of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's *Kitāb al-ʿiqd*

al-farīd (The Book of the Unique Necklace). Among other material, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī included in his work extracts drawn from two very well-known works: al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad's Kitāb al-'arūḍ (The Book of Prosody) and Abū 'Ubayd's Kitāb al-amṯāl (The Book of Proverbs). While the Kitāb al-'arūḍ is freely summa- rized, the extracts taken from the Kitāb al-amṯāl display relatively little variation when compared to the source (except for a number of variants and additions).[131]

III

One of the most remarkable intellectual achievement of F. Sezgin is the develop- ment of a method[132] for distinguishing between two types of scholars involved in the transmission of compilatory works by systematically comparing isnāds: collectors or compilers (called "authors" by Sezgin), who compiled their material from multiple sources (according to Sezgin, the sources were invariably written records) on the one hand and mere transmitters, who in their lectures "solely" passed on these compilations, on the other. Sezgin maintains that the last shared name in an isnād with identical initial links [216] indicates the compiler of a direct source for the book in question.[133]

However, to make clear-cut dichotomy between author and transmitter is, at least in the early period, impracticable: until at least the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, most transmitters added to or subtracted from works they transmitted or modified them in some other way. From the fourth/tenth cen- tury, however, more and more "stabilized" [217] works were transmitted in a more or less fixed form.[134] For example, according to Stauth (1969) and Leemhuis (1981),[135] working independently of one another, it was not only Ibn an-Naǧīḥ (d. 131/748) and Warqā' (d. 160/776) who contributed material from other authorities to the Tafsīr Warqā'an Ibn'Abī Naǧīḥ'an Muǧāhid (The Commentary of Warqā' on the authority of Ibn Abī Naǧīḥ on the authority of Muǧāhid) discovered by Sezgin. Ādam ibn Abī Iyās al-'Asqalānī (d. 220/835) in particular, the transmitter directly following Warqā', added so much material from sources other than Muǧāhid[136] that he should be considered the work's "author" (in Sezgin's sense). Even the transmitter directly following Ādam, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Kisā'ī (d. 281/894), added material, if only a little.[137]

Therefore, in terms of its size, the so-called Muǧāhid commentary as we know it from the manuscript discovered by Sezgin only reached its final state at around the second half of the third/ninth century. It was then passed on without further additions until the sixth/twelfth century.

Another example from the third/ninth century is the Kitāb aḫbār Makkah al- musarrafah (The Book of the Reports of Mecca the Venerated), the history and description of Mecca,[138] whose "author" is, according to Sezgin, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Azraqī (d. 228/837).[139] However, in agreement with the editor F. Wüstenfeld, we can identify the following persons involved in the process of

compiling and transmitting the work[140]:

1 the narrator, the aforementioned Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Azraqī, from whom most of the book's material stems;

2 the author, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Azraqī (d. c.250/865), the narrator's grandson. He owes most of his material to his grandfather, but adds many [218] traditions derived from others and even his own;

3 the first editor, Isḥāq al-Ḫuzā'ī(d. 308/920). He is both transmitter and (accor- ding to Sezgin's model) himself an author, having made substantial additions to the work;

4 a second editor, Muḥammad al-Ḫuzā'ī (d. after 350/961). While in general merely acting as a transmitter, he added several marginal glosses which have found their way into the text.

After this, the transmission of the work "stabilized". Who exactly is an author in this instance, who transmitter? By identifying the narrator (person 1) as the book's author and noting the contributions made by the author (person 2) in pas- sing (the book is said to have been "reworked" ["bearbeitet"] by him),[141] Sezgin oversimplifies matters.

The transmission history of this work is particularly instructive, because it illu- strates the whole spectrum of processes of: redaction, modification, and revision which could possibly occur to books transmitted through the lecture tradition. Equally instructive is the fact that redactional interventions become less and less frequent over time and cease altogether in the second half of the fourth/tenth cen- tury. Again, this is not the rule: the additions of the transmitters frequently entered "fixed texts" in later centuries.[142]

[219] In this context, we should recall certain duplicate titles found in the biogra- phical/bibliographical literature, especially in Ibn an-Nadīm's Fihrist (The Index or Catalogue). It remains to be shown whether the same title ascribed to a younger authority is an independent work or an extended compilation of the older autho- rity's work. In most instances, we find the latter to be the case, that is, the text in question was worked on by two or more generations of scholars.[143]

To quote but one example, the Kitāb ṭabaqāt aš-šu'arā' (al-ǧāhiliyīn) (The Book of the Classes of [pre-Islamic] Poets) by Muḥammad Ibn Sallām al-Ǧumaḥī (d. 231/845 or 232/846) and his nephew Abū Ḫalīfah al-Ǧumaḥī (d. 305/917)[144] is such a text.[145]

Frequently, biographers and bibliographers were unable to distinguish between authors and transmitters. If we bear in mind that the process of dissemination of knowledge in early Islam set greater store on authenticated tradition than on originality (i.e. books as original works of art),[146] this does not come as a surprise.

IV

For authors of compilations such as al-Buḫārī, aṭ-Ṭabarī, Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī, and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, manuscripts of books by previous authors, which they had

at their disposal and quoted and copied from (transmitting their material by way of wiǧādah, kitābah, etc.), played ■ relatively minor role in terms of quantity and importance. Much more important and numerous were [220] traditions which the compilers had derived directly from the lectures of their informants, be it through their own or other students' notes or through copying their šayḫ's records or ■ copy thereof. This has been shown for aṭ-Ṭabarī,[147] Abū 'l-Faraǧ,[148] Ibn Abī 'd-Dunyā (d. 281/894),[149] and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi.[150] These traditions can be recognized by an ʾisnād displaying an introductory terminology which indicates "oral" transmission (ḥaddaṯa-nī, "he told me"; or ʾaḫbara-nī, "he reported", etc.)

In aṭ-Ṭabarī's Tafsīr, two basic types of these sources can be distinguished[151]:

1   sources mainly drawing on one authority while sometimes including traditions from other authorities;

2   compilations assembling throughout traditions from different authorities, placed side by side and on an equal footing.[152]

Werkmeister's study on the sources of the Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd (The Book of the Unique Necklace) has produced similar results. Here, too, there are two types of sources for the material Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi received directly from his teachers' lectures:

1   Clusters of linked and thematically related traditions which are predominantly traced back to one authority but have been enriched with material from other sources. They could have been either specifically assembled by a teacher for ■ given course or put together at an earlier stage and taken over by the teacher. In the latter instance, the specific arrangement of the material was frequently not established by the authority the cluster was traced back to but by students or later scholars. Consequently, [221] we but rarely find parallels to these clusters of material in the extant books of the authorities in question. Examples found in the ʿiqd: the chapter about bedouin proverbs and sayings, traced back mainly to al-Asmaʿī (though there is no book by al-Asmaʿī [d. 213/826] on bedouin proverbs); traditions about the fall of the Barmakids, attributed to Sahl ibn Hārūn (d. 215/830) via al-Ǧāḥiẓ (though there is no such book by Sahl ibn Hārūn).

2   Numerous more or less related single traditions from different authorities.[153]

The following phenomenon can be better understood as ■ special case of point (1) in the previous list instead of an independent category:

1   Sections or excerpts of thematically relevant works treated (i.e. recited or paraphrased, explained or supplemented with additional sources) in a lecture course devoted to ■ specific topic. This could equally well apply to parts or excerpts of books which had already been given a fixed shape by their authors. The form which the material took in the process of inclusion in the lecture tradition and in which it finally entered the compilations at our

disposal diverges, more or less, from the form the material originally had (e.g. chapters from al-Mubarrad's Kitāb al-kāmil [The Complete Book] in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's Kitāb al-ʿiqd).[154]

Lastly, Fleischhammer's analysis of the material of Abū 'l-Faraǧ's immediate authorities also points to these two types of sources. Material that Abū 'l-Faraǧ derived directly from the lectures of his teacher aṭ-Ṭabarī (an "author" according to Sezgin's model) and that is parallel to the passages in aṭ-Ṭabarī's Taʾrīḫ (History) dealing with the Prophet's life, is traced back almost exclusively to Ibn Isḥāq's Kitāb al-maġāzī (The Book of the Campaigns). They therefore belong to the first type of source. The second type is represented by texts from other informants of Abū 'l-Faraǧ (e.g. Ibn al-Marzubān, d. 309/921, author of ■ work on classes of poets) who quote numerous traditions traced back to a large number of different authorities.[155]

At this point, it should be remembered that, according to Sezgin, materials transmitted by ■ teacher (the immediate informant) of a compilation can only be regarded as the "immediate written source" of a compilation if the name of the immediate informant is the last shared name before an [222] ʾisnād branches out, that is, the teacher's material originated from different sources (the teacher himself being a "major collector").[156]

Nowadays, we know that up to the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries, authors and transmitters are often indistinguishable. During this period, transmitters were very much involved in shaping a text. They supplemented the material, shortened or reworked it and so on. Under these circumstances, we ■■ more inclined to regard such material as was transmitted by a teacher (as the immediate informant) and existed in written form in the teacher's records or at least in student notes as the direct sources of compilers—irrespective of the informant being an "author" (i.e. major collector) or a "mere transmitter" in Sezgin's terms.

In some of the ʾisnāds Abū 'l-Faraǧ provides for his traditions, he quotes books and, on rare occasions, even titles of books.[157] Interestingly enough, he occasionally credits his immediate informant with being the author of the book in question, even though—in Sezgin's terms—he is a "mere transmitter." Sezgin did not overlook this phenomenon and remarks in a footnote: "It also happens that he [sc. Abū 'l-Faraǧ] quotes some books, perhaps on account of their fame [], as if their respective rāwīs were their authors."[158]

[223] Often enough, however, it is of course possible and useful to distinguish between major collectors (Sezgin's authors), who compiled their material from multiple sources, and mere transmitters, who mainly (only in ■ few cases exclusively) relayed the traditions of a predecessor.[159] (The material of these major collectors could be called the "ultimate sources"[160] of the great compilers—but not their immediate written sources.)

The distinction between "major collectors" and "authors" on the one hand and "transmitters" on the other probably did not play ■ large role for aṭ-Ṭabarī and other writers of compilations, who received their material from their teachers. On

this basis, Bellamy once made the apt observation that Sezgin's method of ʾisnād analysis allowed us to be better informed about an author's ultimate sources than the author himself.[161]

Bellamy moreover established that one theory put forward for the disappearance of the shorter works on which compilations drew, that is, the fact that there was no need for them any more once their content was absorbed into the larger compilations, lacked plausibility. On the contrary, it would have been more likely for the earlier books, which were shorter and cheaper than the voluminous compilations, to remain as popular as they had been previously. Bellamy offered the compilers' preferences as explanation: they wanted to have their material in a sifted and revised form just in the manner they received it in the lecture courses. There, a continuous process of excerpting had already separated the wheat from the chaff. One could imagine that this is ▪ adequate description of what Islamic scholars thought. Travels undertaken in the search of knowledge (ṭalab al-ʿilm), however, were probably often and for ▪ long time *necessary* for the acquisition of certain material.[162] Many of the compilers' ultimate "written sources" (according to Sezgin) were only accessible to them through attendance at their teachers' lectures, who had already integrated these sources into their own notebooks and records.

That the newly discovered manuscripts often have the [224] character of lecture notes similar to what we have postulated above as the sources for the compilations is another good indicator for the accuracy of our claim. They are definitely not the kind of source works Sezgin made them out to be.[163]

To the first category of works (those containing traditions from one authority with limited additions from other sources) belong texts such as the *Tafsīr Warqāʾ an Ibn ʿAbī Naǧīḥ ʿan Muǧāhid* (*The Qurʾān commentary of Warqāʾ on the authority of Ibn Abī Naǧīḥ on the authority of Muǧāhid*)[164] and the so-called *Tafsīr Sufyān aṯ-Ṯawrī* (*The Qurʾān Commentary of az-Zuhrī*),[165] The *Tafsīr Sufyān az-Zuhrī* (*The Qurʾān Commentary of Sufyān aṯ-Ṯawrī*) on the other hand falls under the second category (containing traditions from different but equally ranked authorities).[166]

V

To sum up the principal characteristics of Islamic teaching practice in regard to oral and written transmission of knowledge, we can make the following points: a teacher presented his material in a lecture (samāʿ) (frequently) on the basis of written notes or (less frequently) from memory. Even in the latter case, he normally possessed written records of the material. In different lectures on a shared subject, the material was often presented in different ways, and these performances in turn could give rise to different recensions (transmissions). Students either took notes during the lecture or, if they in turn wanted to transmit further the material received in ▪ lecture, afterwards produced a written version from memory or from somebody else's records. Versions thus created could be very different from each other, providing us with another explanation for variant recensions of extant works.

On closer inspection, it seems as if oral and written transmission, instead of being mutually exclusive, supplemented each other. Thus, the question of *either* ▪ oral *or* a written transmission of knowledge in early Islam can easily result in a dispute about definitions. What we do *not* have is an oral tradition in the sense of illiterate rhapsodes passing on their epics and songs (*oral poetry* springs to mind). Equally, written tradition for the most part should not be misunderstood as the verbatim copying and production of editorially finished books.

[225] It might be best entirely to avoid catchphrases such as "written transmission" versus "oral transmission" and to talk about lecture and teaching practices in early Islam.

Keeping this in mind, we need not (like the advocates of ▪ written transmission) seek to account for an ʾisnād terminology which allegedly "feigns" orality[167] (with phrases such as "A reported/told me") while maintaining that the sources were actually written. And there is no need to wonder why ʾisnāds almost never or only in exceptional cases list titles of books.

On the other hand, we need not (like the proponents of oral transmission) go out of our way to reinterpret the frequent references to *kutub*, *dafātir*, *ṣuḥuf*, or *qarāṭīs* written or used by scholars[168] and thus have recourse to often extremely [226] exaggerated reports about their phenomenal mnemonic powers.[169]

Incidentally, we never find the terms *šifāhan/ar-riwāyah aš-šafahīyah* or *kitā-batan/ar-riwāyah al-kitābīyah* in classical Arabic literature to characterize the mode of transmission in the sciences: they would be the exact equivalents of oral and written transmission. What we *do* find in the texts, however, is *ar-riwā-yah al-masmūʿah*, "*heard/audited/aural* tradition," inaccurately translated ▪ "oral tradition" (examples on pages 42 and 60). The phrase contains an important distinction: it emphasizes the fact that a student has *heard* the material (rather than merely copied it). Whether the teacher lectured from written records or memory or whether the student wrote down his notes simultaneously or committed the material to memory first is an issue of much less importance which, at the very least, is not expressed in the terminology.

Eschewing the terms "oral" and "written transmission" in this context helps us to avoid another pitfall—the connection of modes of transmission with the (entirely unrelated) question of authenticity.[170] Obviously, it is as easy to falsify material in writing as it is in oral transmission![171]

To counterbalance the tendency of some modern scholars to link written transmission and authenticity (and to regard traditions which, according to the compilers, reached them in written form, that is, [227] through *wiǧādah*, *kitābah*, etc.,[172] as authentic), we again have to refer to the views of medieval Islamic scholars: they rated exclusively written transmission as particularly dubious and only accepted "heard" material as worthwhile. (This is similar to the precepts of Islamic legal scholars concerning written documents in ▪ law suit: they can only be accepted as valid evidence after their content has been confirmed orally by reliable witnesses.) That their mistrust of written sources was not solely motivated by ideological considerations but by a real fear—of being caught out by scribal

mistakes, of erroneous interpretations, and of relying on fabricated material—is borne out by our sources, which frequently remark on the subject.

In his *Kitāb aš-šiʿr wa-ʾš-šuʿarāʾ* (*The Book of Poetry and Poets*),[173] Ibn Qutaybah maintains that *samāʿ* is important for every science but indispensable for the sciences of religion and poetry: without hearing it (ʿidā ʾanta lam tasmaʿ-hu), one cannot distinguish between *sāba* and *tāya* in a poem. Ibn Qutaybah subsequently lists more examples to show that "those who only take their knowledge from note-books" (*al-ʾāḫidūn ʿan ad-dafātir*) make mistakes because they are ignorant of the "heard transmission/reading" (*ar-riwāyah al-masmūʿah*). In view of [228] the character of the Arabic script, which was often used without diacritics at that time, this is a powerful argument.[174]

With its "lecture system," *samāʿ* or *qirāʾah*, in which oral and written transmission of knowledge complement each other, medieval Islam created an institution which was, *in the eyes of contemporary scholars*, capable of reliably and authentically disseminating knowledge.

Finally, we need to make a few remarks on the genesis of this peculiar Islamic institution of tradition. We have to consider the following points of departure:

VI

1 The system of authentication practised in Jewish circles in the Talmudic era that according to Horovitz (1918) [= (2004)] had an influence on the Islamic *ʾisnād*.

2 The transmission of pre-and early-Islamic poetry also called *riwāyah*.[175] Poetry was regarded as "the science of the Arabs" (*ʿilm al-ʿarab*)[176] and transmitted in a very specific manner: the poet had one or more transmitters (*rāwīs*) who committed his poems to memory. Possibly already at an early stage, they acquired authentic versions of the texts and disseminated them. Thus, they sometimes produced written records as mnemonic aids.[177] Until the early years of the ʿAbbāsid era, such *rāwīs* often treated their texts in a decidedly high-handed manner; some poets (e.g. Ğarīr and al-Farazdaq) even expected their *rāwīs* to check their poems and correct minor mistakes.[178]

The resultant transmission procedure is so similar to later (admittedly much more developed) methods of transmission used in the Islamic sciences that we can confidently assume the former to have influenced the latter.[179]

3 [229] The late antique school tradition. In his *Risālah* (epistle) on the Syriac and Greek translations of Galen's works, the Christian Arab master translator Hunayn ibn Ishāq (d. 260/873) provides the following information about medical teaching practices in Alexandria:

Students used to meet each day for a recitation (*qirāʾah*) and interpretation of one of his [sc. Galen's] main works—just as our Christian friends do nowadays, who each day meet in their places of teaching

(which are called *ʾuskūl*, *scholē*) to study one of the main works of the ancients or one of the other (main) books.[180]

It would be difficult to deny the obvious link between late antique teaching practices and their continuation in the Islamic era in Christian Arab circles on the one hand[181] and the transmission of sciences in Islam on the other.

Addenda

P. 28

To this day, F. Sezgin has not responded to the numerous critical comments made about his theories.

On this and the following chapter, see now my own *Ecrire et transmettre dans les débuts de l'islam*.[182] The most important new finding which modifies or corrects some of the claims I have made in this and the following chapter is the following: around the middle of the second/eighth century, ▮ genre of works emerged which were structured and arranged into chapters (*musannafāt*). They were, however, still mainly destined for oral lecturing. Thus, these works belong to an intermediate type between *syngrammata* and *hypomnēmata*. To this group belong, among others, Mālik ibn Anas's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and many of the sources used in the major compilatory works of aṭ-Ṭabarī and Abū ʾl-Farağ (as opposed to Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* which already belongs to the *syngramma* type!)[183] S. Günther[184] has done important research on this type of work.

P. 30

The source works used in the compilations by al-Buḫārī and Muslim, aṭ-Ṭabarī and Abū ʾl-Farağ were, as we now know, for the most part "literature of the school destined for oral lectures" (cf. previous paragraph).

P. 31

Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965)[185] reports another revealing piece of information about Wakīʿ: "We never saw ▮ book in Wakīʿ's hand, because he used to recite his 'books' from memory (*kāna yaqraʾu kutuba-hū min ḥifẓi-hī*)."

P. 35

The entire oeuvre of al-Madāʾinī also belongs to the genre of "literature of the school for the school destined for oral lectures," whereas the works of al-Ğāḥiz are "proper books." We have one extant and published example for the former type of text by al-Madāʾinī's student and transmitter ʿUmar ibn Šabbah: the *Tarīḫ al-Madīnah al-munawwarah* (*The History of Medina the Resplendent*). It was taken down by one of the students of Ibn Šabbah.[186]

On the character and transmission of the texts and works traced back to the *aḫbārī* (transmitter of reports/author of historical works) al-Hayṯam ibn ʿAdī (d. 207/822) cf. now the important book by St. Leder: *Das Korpus al-Haiṯam ibn ʿAdī* (see Bibliography).

Pp. 36–37
A recent critical discussion of Sezgin's method can be found in E. Landau-Tasseron's On the Reconstruction of Lost Sources.[187]

P. 37
On the issue of authorship of scientific and literary works in early Islam, cf. H. Motzki's "The Author and his Work in the Islamic Literature of the First Centuries: The case of 'Abd al-Razzāq's Muṣannaf."[188] Motzki also scrutinizes the ideas of N. Calder[189] who dated a number of legal works that were thought to have been compiled by scholars living in the second/eighth century [e.g. 'Abd ar-Razzāq's Muṣannaf and Mālik ibn Anas's Muwaṭṭaʾ] to a much later time.[190]

Based on the results of the present articles and his own study of early texts, Motzki was able to show "that 'Abd ar-Razzāq is the author of the Muṣannaf, in the sense that he was the teacher of almost all the material contained in it."[191]

Pp. 37–38
Compare my remarks concerning p. 30.

P. 181, n. 168
On this report, ■ the comprehensive discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 80–82.

P. 42, 2nd para.
See also al-Azharī's description of a ṣuḥufī in Chapter 2, p. 60.

P. 42, VI
Compare Schoeler (2002b, p. 127 ff.) and later, Chapter 2, pp. 46–49.

Pp. 42–43
The claim of "heard/audited transmission" (ar-riwāyah al-masmūʿah) was in principle still in force even in the age of the madrasah, irrespective of the fact that in most cases, transmission took place on the basis of books. "Heard transmission" continued to play ■ practical role and, beginning with the fourth/tenth and the fifth/eleventh centuries, assumed new forms: a book heard from or read to an authority was tagged with a written "endorsement," the ʾiǧāzat as-samāʿ. Arab scholars always regarded and still regard manuscripts with such a samāʿ "endorsement" as superior to those without it.[192]

2

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE SCIENCES IN EARLY ISLAM REVISITED

The point of departure for Chapter 1 of this work[193] was the following question: were the sources of the major compilatory works of the Arabo-Islamic sciences composed between the second/eighth and the fourth/tenth centuries, marked by their use of ʾisnād, mainly *written or oral?*

The solution we have proposed on this extremely controversial issue can be summed up in a few sentences. The sources for the compilations in question (e.g. Mālik ibn Anas's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* [*The Well-Trodden (Path)*], the *History and Qurʾān commentary* of aṭ-Ṭabarī, or Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-ʾaġānī* [*The Book of Songs*]) are for the most part *lectures* held by šayḫs (teachers) on the basis of written notes—read out or recited from memory—which were listened to and put back into writing by students.[194] Thus, these notes are mostly not written works in the sense of books given their finished shape and edited by their authors[195]; on the other hand, they are in the majority of cases [39] not purely oral traditions in the sense that the šayḫ and his audience kept the material under instruction exclusively in their memories.

The formation of different and divergent transmissions of a work can be caused by the following factors:

1 a *šayḫ* may have presented his material differently in different lectures;
2 students would have produced different written records;
3 students and their students in turn transmitted the material differently. Besides alterations in a text's original wording, deletions, additions, tendentious revisions, and even tampering and outright forgeries could occur in this process.[196]

[40] Arabic scholars held the view that ■ student should have "heard" the material being taught: *ar-riwāyah al-masmūʿah*, the "heard" or "audited" transmission (for the most part inaccurately translated as *oral* transmission) was regarded by Muslims as the best method of transmission.

In this chapter, we will extend our study and apply our approach to sciences which did not use the ʾisnād in the same manner as the science of ḥadīṯ or which dispensed with it altogether. In this context, we will focus on the transmission

of properly edited books (in the strict sense) and that of commentaries on these books, whose text was "audited" (i.e. here, read out).

In the first section, we will point out several characteristics common to both the late antique school establishment and the Islamic system of transmission. The second section will deal with the transmission of knowledge in Arabic grammar and lexicography. In the final section, we will attempt to gauge the impact of Arabo-Islamic transmission methods on later medical and philosophical instruction in Islam.

I

Classical philologists have often had to work with texts which, they discovered, only became literary works at ■ later stage.[197] Each of these texts consisted of records taken during a lecture and edited later. Von Arnim's study of Dio Chrysostom of Prusa's (d. after 110) *Diatribes* (lectures on practical ethics) and *Sophistical Speeches* produced valuable insights on this issue.[198] He explained the occurrence of doublets in Dio's works—passages similar in substance, but often considerably divergent in wording, which follow each other in a text—with the repetition of ■ presentation by the same orator and the use of different students' records by the later redactor. The speeches in question were delivered from memory, but they were not genuinely extempore, since they required some preparation of the subject matter.[199]

[41] The Greek language affords us an accurate terminological distinction between private written records intended as a mnemonic aid for a lecture (or ■ conversation) and literary works composed and redacted according to the canon of stylistic rules: the former type is called *hypomnēma*; the latter, *syngramma*.[200] In the following discussion, we will apply these two terms to Arabic works as well.

Another type of oral presentation recorded in writing, which we will not be able to examine here, is Christian homiletic literature.[201]

More interesting for us is a third type, academic lectures written down by students, which we find very early on. Examples of such written records are works of Aristotle, Carneades, Epictetus, and Musonius.

We will now turn to exegetical teaching texts of late Alexandrian philosophers, which are chronologically closest to the rise of Islam; moreover, late Alexandrian teaching practices exerted some (indirect rather than direct) influence on the transmission methods in medicine and philosophy under Islam.

According to K. Praechter,[202] M. Richard,[203] L. G. Westerink,[204] and others, the exegetical teaching texts of the Alexandrians are for the most part lecture notes written down later, which the authors had not originally intended to be published.[205] This can often be inferred from titles containing the phrase *apo phōnēs tou deinos* (from the mouth of so-and-so). Such is the case in a record which are chronologically closest to the rise of Islam; moreover, late Alexandrian teaching courses on the *Metaphysics*; here, the name of the student appears side by side with the name of the professor: *Scholia ...Asklepiou apo phōnēs Ammoniou* (*The Commentaries of Asclepius from the*

Mouth of Ammonius). Similarly, in the Islamic context, we know of, for example, a *Tafsīr Warqāʾ an Ibn-Abī Naǧīḥ an Muǧāhid* (*The Qurʾān Commentary of "Warqāʾ on the authority of Ibn Abī Naǧīḥ on the authority of Muǧāhid*),[206] that is, also here, the name of the student can appear side by side with the name of the teacher.

In both systems, we find books circulating under students' names which are no more than revised and supplemented transmissions of a teacher's works, for example, the *Tafsīr* (*Qurʾān Commentary*) and *Ǧāmiʿ* (*The Compilation*) of ʿAbd ar-Razzāq ibn Hammām (d. 211/827), which for the most part reproduces material by Maʿmar ibn Rāšid (d. 154/770).[207] In late antique scholarly institutions we find that ■ student, without thereby becoming guilty of any wrong-doing in the eyes of his teacher, disseminated his records under his own name alone. When Proclus, then barely twenty years old, studied Plato's *Phaedo* with Plutarch, then advanced in years, he was encouraged by the latter to write down the exegesis with the remark, inciting his ambition, that there then would also be ■ *Phaedo* commentary by Proclus in circulation.[208]

The frequent parallel traditions in Arabo-Islamic compilations, that is, traditions similar or identical in content and traced back to the same narrator, but with different intermediary transmitters and often divergent wording, correspond to the doublets we find in Alexandrian lectures.[209]

In sum, the structure of Islamic *samāʿ* conforms in many details to that of late Alexandrian lecture courses. The notebooks (*dafātir*) and "books" (*kutub*) Muslims used to record material "heard" from their teachers (cf. the frequent expression *kataba ʿan*)[210] are similar to the lecture notes *apo phōnēs* produced by students in Alexandria. The closest parallel to the exegetical teaching practices of the Alexandrians in early Islam is to be found in Qurʾānic exegesis. In both cases, lectures were based on a fixed text, on which ■ teacher commented. The students "heard" the commentary and took notes.

In that context, Alexandrian teaching methods have been described as follows: the lecturer had a copy of the work he was to comment on in his hand and referred to it in each step of his exegetical discussion.[211] The exegesis itself was recorded in writing in the teacher's notebook. When [43] a lecture was repeated, teachers generally used to have recourse to the same notebook, "while occasional modifications of the text could be written down in the text or on loose sheets of paper or only be expressed orally."[212]

An early Islamic *maǧlis* devoted to Qurʾānic exegesis would probably have looked very similar.

Finally, there were certain similarities in the exegetical techniques, less in those applied in the heyday of the Alexandrian school[213] than in its later stage (starting with Stephanus, who flourished in the first half of the seventh century). Extant glosses on Aristotelian works by Stephanus[214] [44] resemble the mostly short and often purely philological explanations that older Qurʾānic exegetes such as Muǧāhid inserted after the passages they commented on.[215]

However, the similarities should not be overstressed. The late Alexandrian teaching system did not put as much emphasis on the "heard"/"audited" transmission as did Islam. In addition, we do not know whether the later distinction between *samāʿ* (a teacher reads [...] work aloud) and *qirāʾah* (a student reads the work aloud) was already known to the Alexandrians.

Finally, the Alexandrian tradition displays only very rudimentary features of the Islamic *ʾisnād* system (*apo phōnēs tou deinos*, from the mouth of so-and-so).

What we want to emphasize here are *structural similarities* between both systems, not direct dependencies,216 although an indirect link with the Syrian and Persian Hellenistic school tradition serving as [...] intermediary would be plausible [...] well. These two traditions had adopted Alexandrian practices early on, especially in philosophy.217 However, we still lack information on the actual teaching methods practised in [45] these schools and in monastic institutions around the time of the Islamic conquests.218

Undoubtedly, the Islamic (religious) teaching system grew spontaneously, without outside interference, out of the need to teach the new religion. The chapters on *al-ʿilm* in *ḥadīṯ* collections reflect the oldest forms of religious instruction in Islam. The *Kitāb al-ʿilm* (*The Book of Knowledge*) in al-Buḫārī's *as-Ṣaḥīḥ* (*The Sound [Compilation]*), for instance, shows us the Prophet sitting in a mosque and surrounded by a *ḥalqah*. He teaches his audience by repeating his words three times until they [...] understood.219

During the time in which this simple teaching (but not yet transmission) method was developed into the Islamic *ḥadīṯ* system, outside influences could easily have left their imprint. These could have been Arabic, for example, the model provided by the transmission of poetry,220 as well as *external*, that is, Jewish tradition221 and the late antique school system (not so much Alexandria itself as Hellenistic teaching practices in Syria and Persia). The mediators were probably *mawālī*-(clients) familiar with Hellenistic teaching methods. In the period under review (the end of the first and the first half of the second centuries AH, in particular), they started in growing numbers to engage in various Islamic sciences.

[46] Be that [...] it may, one thing is certain: there is a connection between late Alexandrian medical instruction on the one hand and the teaching of Christian Arab (and later Muslim) physicians in Baġdād on the other. Arab scholars themselves point this out: Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (d. 260/873), master translator and physician, describes medical instruction in Alexandria as follows: students used

to meet each day for a recitation (*qirāʾah*) and interpretation of one of his [sc. Galen's] main works . . . just as our Christian friends nowadays do, who meet each day at their places of teaching, called *usḵāl*, to study one of the main works of the ancients or one of the other (main) books.222

In this case as well, rather than a direct link, we should envision the relation between Alexandria and Baġdād as an indirect one. Medical instruction in Gondēšāpūr [...] Persia, which in turn had probably been shaped after Alexandria (and Antioch),

but had become more specialized and efficient,223 was literally closer to Baġdād than teaching in Alexandria. The tradition leading from Gondēšāpūr to Baġdād is illustrated by Ḥunayn's academic career: he came from the town of al-Ḥīrah near the Persian border and was a student of Yūḥannā ʾbn Māsawayhi (d. 243/857), himself descendant of a family of physicians hailing from Gondēšāpūr.224 It is remarkable, though, that people in the third/ninth century Baġdād were still very much aware of the Alexandrian [47] roots of medical teaching methods.

In a similar vein, the philosopher al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) later describes the transfer of philosophical teaching from Alexandria to Baġdād. Remarkably, he traces its way through *Syria* (Antioch) and *Mesopotamia* (Ḥarrān).225

II

In the field of grammar (in the strict sense, "linguistics": *naḥw*),226 Arab scholars are seen to have written and published books (in the strict sense, *syngrammata*) relatively early (before [48] 184/800). ʿĪsā ʾbn ʿUmar aṯ-Ṯaqafī (d. 149/766), a teacher of al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. between 160/776 and 175/791), is said to have written two books, a *Kitāb al-ǧāmiʿ* and [...] *Kitāb al-mukmil*.227

We will turn to the question of whether al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad wrote [...] book on grammar later on (cf. pp. 51–52).

Sībawayhi's (d. c.180/796) *Kitāb* ("*The Book*"),228 the earliest extant comprehensive description of Arabic linguistics, is definitely [...] book in the strict sense. The work does indeed display characteristics of a book with a fixed shape. It is a "systematic description"229 with a clearly discernible, if still clumsy, arrangement of the contents. It is divided into chapters, addresses the reader directly (*ʾa-lā tarā, ʾilam ʾanna*; "do you not see", "know that"), [49] contains cross-references, etc. What is still missing is a preface and a title (chosen by the author).230

Sībawayhi mostly speaks in his own name, for example, throughout the first seven sections, later to be called *ar-Risālah* (*The Epistle*). But in subsequent parts of the work, he often quotes authorities. In these passages, his quotation method differs noticeably from that of the *ḥadīṯ* experts and is closer to modern procedures. The most frequently quoted authorities are al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad and, substantially less often, Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb (d. 182/798), both of whom were his teachers. Relatively rarely, he quotes—via these two scholars—their teachers.231 Introductory formulae of quotations rarely conform to the transmission formulae of *ḥadīṯ* scholars. The most commonly used introductory phrase for al-Ḫalīl quotes is *saʾaltu-hū . . . fa-qāla*, "I asked him . . . and he answered" or similar expressions. They clearly refer to oral questions and answers.232 The most frequent of the remaining introductory phrases are the terminologically indeterminate expressions *zaʿama*, "he claimed" and *qāla*, "he said." We find very few instances of *ḥaddaṯa-nī/-nā*, "he reported to me/us," a formula usually associated with *samāʿ* in the field of *ḥadīṯ*, that is, a lecture held by [...] teacher on the basis of written records, heard by [...] student, and once more committed to writing, this time by the

student. The quotations in question contain arguments taken from discussions, teachings, theories, and viewpoints of teachers, not traditions (aḥādīṯ) or "reports" (aḫbār). One is left with the impression that Sībawayhi's quotations in most cases documented "discussions of the Basrian school."233

Once the Kitāb Sībawayhi (Sībawayhi's Book), a work fundamental enough to be called the "Qurʾān of grammar,"234 became available, a large part of subsequent scholarly activities in the field were devoted to commenting, extending, and supplementing it.235

[50] The method according to which the book was transmitted—better: studied—is qirāʾah, that is, the work was read out by a student before a šayḫ (qurʾa ʿalā) with the latter explaining it.236 However, it was not explained by the author himself, for apparently Sībawayhi was not able to teach the book to students in his lifetime, but by his friend and student al-Aḫfaš al-Awsaṭ (d. 215/830).237 Incidentally, al-Aḫfaš's comments have partly survived in the form of marginal glosses to the text.238 Scholars such as Abū ʿUṯmān al-Māzinī (d. 248/862)239 and Abū ʿUmar al-Ǧarmī (d. 225/839)240 "read" the Kitāb before al-Aḫfaš; al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898 or 286/899)241 in turn "read" it before them and so on.

All of the grammarians listed above are Basrians. But also in Kūfah, scholars could not dispense with this fundamental text. Reports242 indicate that al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805), the former (unfair) opponent of Sībawayhi in al-Masʾalah az-zunbūriyah (The Question of the Wasp) [a famous incident that took place in ▪ second/eighth century grammatical debate], read the Kitāb before the Basrian al-Aḫfaš al-Awsaṭ—secretly and for payment. Al-Kisāʾī's student al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) also owned the book—it is said to have been found under his head when he died.243 Finally, Taʿlab (d. 291/904) is said to have read the book "before himself,"244 that is, without a teacher.245

[51] A look at the unbroken line of (Basrian) transmitters of the Kitāb Sībawayhi suggests that, during the transmission of the work or rather of its manuscripts, ▪ feature we do not find in the text itself could have emerged—chains of transmitters (riwāyāt) similar to those of ḥadīṯ scholars; ʾisnāds listing transmitters in ▪ uninterrupted sequence from the last owner of the manuscript down to the very author. Good manuscripts present this type of riwāyah or ʾisnād (which we will from now on call the introductory ʾisnād) before the text itself begins. For example, we find them in the two Cairo manuscripts used by ʿA. M. Hārūn for his edition of Sībawayhi's Kitāb.246 Here as well, the last part of the chain of transmitters leads (as expected) via al-Mubarrad—al-Māzinī to al-Aḫfaš al-Awsaṭ and Sībawayhi.

In this case, something originally occurring only with individual ḥadīṯs and ʾaḫbār (reports) was applied to an entire book. The same phenomenon can later be observed with works in the field of ḥadīṯ, fiqh, and tafsīr as well as historical and philological books.247 Even texts which at the beginning did not have a definite, fixed form were affected.248

For the moment, we can record that qirāʾah became the most natural transmission method once a text had attained the form of an actual book (syngramma).249 This holds for the Qurʾān—the qirāʾah par excellence is the "reading," that is,

reciitation, of the Qurʾān—as well ▪ the classical medical texts alluded to by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (cf. p. 48) and, finally, for the first comprehensive work on Arabic linguistics, the "Qurʾān of grammar", Sībawayhi's Kitāb.

We have to return once more to the transmitters of the Kitāb Sībawayhi listed earlier on this page. It should be remembered that they (al-Aḫfaš al-Awsaṭ, al-Ǧarmī, al-Māzinī, al-Mubarrad, al-Kisāʾī, al-Farrāʾ, and Taʿlab) are at the same time the most important grammarians (in the strict sense, "linguists") of the first 100 years after Sībawayhi. All [52] of these scholars are connected by the fact that they have "read" the Kitāb Sībawayhi. This was done with authorized transmitters, at least in the case of the Basrians. Quṭrub (d. 206/821) is an interesting exception: he is explicitly reported to have heard Sībawayhi without, however, having "read" the Kitāb before him or anybody else.250

Although "reading" the Kitāb and explaining it undoubtedly occupied center stage in grammatical studies from the time of al-Aḫfaš al-Awsaṭ, the grammatical discussion circles (ḥalaqāt or maǧālis) of the grammarians, which predated Sībawayhi and al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad, still existed.251 The discussions taking place in these circles during and after Sībawayhi's lifetime are documented in later maǧālis and ʾamālī works.

We now turn to a question which has once more become the subject of discussion in recent times: did al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad, who, according to the study by Reuschel, taught grammar as comprehensively as Sībawayhi,252 also write a book? We can give a definite answer to this question which was answered in the negative by Reuschel253 and in the affirmative by Sezgin254: al-Ḫalīl did not write such a book. He disseminated his knowledge exclusively through scientific conversations, discussions, lectures, and so on. His claim that al-Ḫalīl wrote ▪ book on grammar not only puts Sezgin in opposition to the results of Reuschel and his thorough analysis of al-Ḫalīl quotations in Sībawayhi's Kitāb, but it also conflicts with the unanimous view of Arab biographers and philologists. Their consensus is expressed in the introduction to az-Zubaydī's (d. 379/989) Muḫtaṣar Kitāb al-ʿayn (The Epitome of the Book of [the Letter] ʿAyn):255

He [sc. al-Ḫalīl] it was who gave a (comprehensive) description of grammar ... afterwards (however) he did not allow himself to write down (even) ▪ single word about it or record a sketch of it ..., because before him, people had worked on it and written (books) about it.256 He disliked being ▪ of those who followed his predecessors.... And he was content in this respect with the knowledge he [53] gave Sībawayhi ... Sībawayhi received [literally: "carried"] it [sc. knowledge] from him, took it over and wrote the Book about it.

Irrespective of the truth of az-Zubaydī's explanation, the fact that al-Ḫalīl did not write a book on grammar is undoubtedly true. This conclusion is borne out by an examination of the terminology biographers and philologists use to characterize

the relationship of Sībawayhi and al-Ḫalīl in the matter of taḥammul al-ʿilm (the taking over of knowledge).

For Sībawayhi, biographies very frequently use phrases such as ʿamila kitā-ba-hū ("he 'produced' his book"),[257] kāna ʿallamatan ḥasan at-taṣnīf ("he a scholar good at composing [a literary work]")[258] or even fa-allafa kitāba-hū 'lladī sammā-hu 'n-nās Qurʾān an-naḥw ("he then composed his book which people called the 'Qurʾān of grammar'").[259] These phrases unequivocally point to Sībawayhi's (unquestioned) authorship of the Book. Equivalent expressions are absent in the case of al-Ḫalīl. Regarding him, the sources say for example: kāna ġāyatan fī istiḥrāǧ masāʾil an-naḥw ("he excelled in solving grammatical questions").[260] Of Sībawayhi, we find the following information: lam yaqraʾ aḥad Kitāb Sībawayhi ʿalay-hi wa-innamā qurʾa baʿda-hū ʿalā 'l-Aḫfaš ("nobody 'read' Sībawayhi's Book before him, but after him [his death], it was 'read' before al-Aḫfaš")[261]; of al-Ḫalīl, however, the biographers only report that Sībawayhi or some other student ʾaḥada 'n-naḥw ʿan-hu ("learned grammar from him"),[262] that ǧalasa 'l-Ḫalīl ... wa-ʾaḥada ʿan-hu madāhiba-hū fī 'n-naḥw ("he took part in al-Ḫalīl's sessions ... and adopted from him his grammatical methods")[263] and that ʾaḥada ʿan al-Ḫalīl ǧamāʿah lam yakun fī-him miṯl Sībawayhi ("a group [of grammarians] 'took' [sc. knowledge] from al-Ḫalīl, but none of them was equal to Sībawayhi").[264]

Had al-Ḫalīl written a "book on grammar" or had the biographers at least assu-med him to have done so, we would invariably find phrases such as ʾallafa/ʿamila al-Ḫalīl kitāba-hū ("al-Ḫalīl composed/'produced' his book") and qaraʾa [54] kitāb al-Ḫalīl ʿalā ("the book of al-Ḫalīl was 'read' before") or lam yaqraʾ kitāba-hū ʿalay-hi ʾaḥad ("no one 'read' his book before him", as we find in the case of Abū 'Amr aš-Šaybānī's Kitāb al-ǧīm, The Book of [the Letter] Ǧīm; cf. p. 54).

In this context, I would venture the suggestion[265] that the title of Sībawayhi's work that was probably not chosen by the author[266] and which was under-stood later to be simply al-Kitāb, the Book (par excellence),[267] was originally simply Kitāb Sībawayhi, which meant no more than "the written elaboration [sc. of the grammatical teachings of al-Ḫalīl, Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb and others] by Sībawayhi."

To sum up, al-Ḫalīl did not write ■ book on grammar. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that he possessed notes on specific grammatical problems and used written records for his lectures.[268] Using written records in this restricted manner would have been in conformity with accepted contemporary practices in the transmission of knowledge.

At all events, al-Ḫalīl was not a scholar who "shunned paper and book."[269] On the contrary, in fields other than grammar, he composed several writings, possibly even books in the strict sense. We are best informed about his book on metrics, the Kitāb al-ʿarūḍ (The Book of Prosody), consisting of the two parts Kitāb al-farš and Kitāb al-miṯāl). The extant text is not the original, but a revised version preserved in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī's Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd (The Book of the Unique Necklace). In his Muḫtaṣar Kitāb al-ʿayn (The Epitome of the Book of [the Letter]

ʿAyn), however, az-Zubaydī explicitly attests—after denying the existence of a grammatical book by al-Ḫalīl—that the book on metrics was a literary work in the strict sense: "he then wrote in an inventive and innovative way the two books al-Farš and al-Miṯāl on metrics and summarized all poetic metres in them."[270]

In addition, a [55] recent study on the sources of the Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd found that in the case of the Kitāb al-ʿarūḍ (The Book of Prosody), there was undoubtedly ■ text going back to al-Ḫalīl in circulation.[271]

We will now turn to lexicography, a subdiscipline of philology. As Versteegh correctly emphasized,[272] it has to be strictly distinguished from the cognate disci-pline of grammar ("linguistics"). Lexicographers study "the speech of the (pure) Arabs and their rare terms"[273] ; they devote themselves to "knowledge of poetry and rare terms."[274] In modern terms, they deal with "the semantic aspect of the linguistic sign."[275]

Philology brought forth teaching practices which were very similar to those of ḥadīṯ scholars, Qurʾān exegetes, and historians, and substantially different from those of grammarians. Grammarians also quoted authorities and worked with transmitted material, but in addition, they applied rational procedures, namely qiyās (analogical deduction), to it. There are several reasons for the similarity in teaching practices between philology and ḥadīṯ: glosses of diffi-cult terms and correct readings (riwāyāt, literally "transmissions"!) of poems had to be traced back to authorities; for ■ correct understanding of ■ poem, diffe-rent kinds of facts had to be reported; and these explanations and reports in turn were transmitted from generation to generation with exact information as to the transmitters.

A particularly good example for a work, the form of which can only be explained with reference to the specifics of philological teaching practices, is the Kitāb an-nawādir fī 'l-luġah (The Book of Lexicographical Rarities).[276] The core material originated with Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/830), but the work was extended and transmitted by generations of scholars following Abū Zayd.[277]

[56] In the genre of "dictations" (amālī, also maǧālis), "which had emerged with traditionists and legal scholars from the custom of dictating material on one or more subjects to interested listeners in successive sessions"[278] philologists followed the methods of ḥadīṯ experts. In the Maǧālis Taʿlab,[279] the Maǧālis[280] and Amālī 'z-Zaǧǧāǧī[281] as well as the Amālī 'l-Qāsim az-Zaǧǧāǧī,[282] the dictation sessions with their very diverse topics consist of numerous separate traditions, each of which have an isnād and ■ matn (see Glossary). The narrator can be either the author—but only if he, like al-Qāā, later edited his dictations himself—or one of his students, who took notes (cf. the first isnāds in the Maǧālis 'z-Zaǧǧāǧī, which begin with qāla or aḫbara-nā Abū 'l-Qāsim az-Zaǧǧāǧī, "Abū 'l-Qāsim az-Zaǧǧāǧī said" or "informed us"); or even ■ student's student (cf. the first isnāds in the Maǧālis Taʿlab, where we read aḫbara-nā Muḥammad [= ibn Miqsam]: ḥaddata-nā Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Taʿlab, "Muḥammad [= ibn Miqsam] informed us: Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Taʿlab reported to us"). Usually, the eye witness of the event in question or the initial transmitter of the report (the narrator) are listed as the last element of the isnād.

A specific feature of philological/lexical samāʿ is the fact that in addition to "learned" šayhs, so-called Bedouins "of pristine speech" (fuṣaḥāʾ al-arab) could be referred to as authorities of equal standing. Thus, as-Suyūṭī entitles the first section (on the subject of samāʿ) of the first chapter of his Muzhir (The Florescent Book [on the Linguistic Sciences]) dealing with taḥammul al-ʿilm (the taking over of knowledge) as follows: as-samāʿ min lafẓ aš-šayh ʾaw al-ʿarabī, literally "listening to the words of the teacher or the Bedouin."[283]

In lexicography, there was no single book which, similar to the Kitāb Sībawayhi in [57] grammar, attained to the rank of "Qurʾān" of the subject and attracted such a large amount of scholarly attention. However, from the end of the second/eighth and the beginning of the third/ninth centuries, lexicographers also wrote books in the strict sense (syngrammata). If we overlook the unclear case of the Kitāb al-ʿayn, Abū ʿAmr aš-Šaybānī's (d. c.205/820) Kitāb al-ǧīm (The Book of [the Letter] Ǧīm)[284] is an example of a book with a fixed form. About the author, we read:

The Kitāb al-ǧīm: it was not transmitted, because Abū ʿAmr was 'niggardly' with it, so that nobody read it before him (ʿammā Kitāb al-ǧīm fa-lā riwāyah la-hū li-anna ʾAbā ʿAmr baḫila bi-hī ʿalā 'n-nās fa-lam yaqraʾ-hu ʿalay-hi ʾaḥad).[285]

An author of numerous books in the strict sense, some of which are extant, is Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838). We can infer this much from the wording of Abū ʿUbayd's biographers, just as we can infer from the wording of al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad's biographers that the latter did not write a book on grammar.

At the beginning of the relevant article in his book on grammatical and philological scholars, Abū ʾṭ-Ṭayyib al-Luġawī (d. 351/962)[286] states:

Abū ʿUbayd is an author good at composing (literary) works, but he possessed (only) little transmission [i.e. he had not heard many of the works before teachers but only copied from books instead] (muṣannif ḥasan at-taʾlīf-illā ʾanna-hū qalīl ar-riwāyah).

and at the end.[287] "Abū ʿUbayd used to bring his (edited) works (muṣannafāt) immediately to the kings.[288] They then awarded him for it. This is why his (edited) works are so numerous." Modern Western research has stressed that Abū ʿUbayd's works "are based on the previous research of other scholars, but Abū ʿUbayd, in using them, wrote the standard works on these subjects which superseded his forerunners and were used and frequently quoted by all the later authors."[289]

However, the character of Abū ʿUbayd's sources, for example, those of his Kitāb al-ġarīb al-muṣannaf (The Book of Uncommon [Vocabulary], Arranged Systematically, a dictionary of rare words, arranged according to subjects) is still controversial. When he quotes older or contemporary authorities (such as al-Aṣmaʿī [d. 213/828], Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī [d. 215/830], or Abū ʿUbaydah

[d. 207/822]), does he rely on oral or written sources? In line with the practice of the genre, he only mentions authors, never titles of quoted texts. Indigenous scholars in fact explicitly mention—in a tone of disapproval—that he copied books in his a-Ġarīb al-muṣannaf and other works. Abū ʾṭ-Ṭayyib al-Luġawī writes:

His book entitled a-Ġarīb al-muṣannaf: he relied in it on ■ book written by someone from the Banū Hāšim, who had compiled it for himself.[290] He then took the books of al-Aṣmaʿī, divided their content into chapters and added some of Abū Zayd's knowledge as well as traditions from the Kūfans ... The Baṣrians say that the majority of what he reports on the authority of their scholars is not samāʿ, but was derived from books. Some passages from his book a-Ġarīb al-muṣannaf were held against him and (indeed), he did not have ■ good command of the desinential inflection.[291]

In his thesis on the Kitāb a-ġarīb al-muṣannaf, Abdel-Tawab objected to the oral and not from written tradition.[292] He tried to prove that Abū ʿUbayd drew his material entirely from reports.[292] To that end, he searched for explanations rare words ascribed by Abū ʿUbayd to named philologists in extant works of the philologists, works the content of which could have been germane to the content of a-Ġarīb al-muṣannaf.[293] When he found any equivalents at all (very often, there were none), their wording turned out to be merely similar, but never identical to Abū ʿUbayd's explanations. According to Abdel-Tawab, this proves that Abū ʿUbayd did not derive his material from written works (books) of the quoted authorities; it moreover confirms his exclusive use of oral tradition. Therefore, claims to the contrary made by Arab philologists and biographers must, according to Abdel-Tawab, be mistaken.[294]

Abdel-Tawab's findings were disputed by Sezgin.[295] To explain the attested discrepancies between Abū ʿUbayd's [59] quotations from allegedly written sources on the one hand and the actual text of extant versions of these sources on the other, he proposes ■ (alleged) practice of Abū ʿUbayd, that of transmitting not literally (ar-riwāyah bi-'l-lafẓ), but freely (ar-riwāyah bi-'l-maʿnā), ■ method Sezgin qualifies ■ detrimental to the works in question.[296] In another passage, he refers to the existence of different recensions of Abū ʿUbayd's sources.[297]

On the basis of the theory developed in Chapter 1 (cf. the summary on p. 4), the contradiction between the findings of Abdel-Tawab and Sezgin is easily solved.

Abdel-Tawab's study proves only that Abū ʿUbayd did not quote from the writings of al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū Zayd, and so on, in the form extant and available as now. We would not expect this anyway with works that (like those quoted by Abū ʿUbayd) were not finalized and put into ■ fixed shape by their autho

In written form, they existed solely as the written notes of their authors and in sometimes considerably divergent lecture notes and further transmissions recorded by students.

This is borne out by a cursory examination of, for example, the two extant versions of the *Kitāb al-ʾibil ʿan al-Aṣmaʿī* (*The Book of Camels* ■ *the Authority of al-Aṣmaʿī*).[298] Apart from other substantial differences, the first version is more than three times as long as the second. It is, in fact, possible that Abū ʿUbayd quoted from a copy (lecture notes) of another version of this "book" in circulation at the time; Abdel-Tawab observes: "Definitions given in the *Ġarīb al-muṣannaf* (*The Book of Uncommon* [*Vocabulary*]) on the authority of al-Aṣmaʿī are sometimes similar to those from the *Kitāb al-ʾibil* by [better: on the authority of (ʿan)] al-Aṣmaʿī."[299]

It is only to be expected that their wording is never identical (as Abdel-Tawab subsequently notes); it would be a very strange coincidence indeed if Abū ʿUbayd had incidentally gotten hold of one of the versions which has survived—in later transmission—to this day.

Information about the form in which al-Aṣmaʿī's books were disseminated and what could happen to them in transmission can be gleaned from the following report from the preface to al-Azharī's (d. 370/980) lexicon *Tahḏīb al-lugah* (*The Refinement of Language*)[300]:

Al-Aṣmaʿī had dictated a book on *nawādir* (lexical rarities) in Baġdād. Soon, material was added to this book which did not come from al-Aṣmaʿī. When a certain person [60] showed him a copy of the book ascribed to him, he immediately noticed the additions. He said: "If you want me to indicate to you what I retain in my memory (as correct) [or: what I want to retain] from it (ʿaḥfaẓu) and to delete the rest, I will do it. If not, you should not read it." It then emerged that he rejected more than one-third.

What the study of Abdel-Tawab therefore does *not* prove is that Abū ʿUbayd relied exclusively on oral traditions. We do not have any reason to mistrust the early Arab philologists, who report that Abū ʿUbayd often merely copied material from "books," that is, more or less correct, unauthorized lecture notes, without "hearing" them from an authority. Thus far, we concur with Sezgin and his proposition that the *Kitāb a-ġarīb al-muṣannaf* employed written sources and that these existed in different versions.

Incorrect, on the other hand, are Sezgin's notions about the form of Abū ʿUbayd's sources: he imagines them to be books with fixed texts, which might have been available in different, authorized "editions" or "recensions." Thus, he is forced to ascribe the differences between the text of the compiler Abū ʿUbayd and these "books" to the (alleged) disadvantages of *ar-riwāyah bi-ʾl-maʿnā* (transmission according to the sense, or gist [without paying heed to the actual wording]). As far as I can see, there is no evidence in the biographical literature to prove that this was Abū ʿUbayd's practice in the first place!

To round off this section, we will now turn to the transmission of the extant works of Abū ʿUbayd, which were predominantly books in the strict sense.

From the introductory ʾisnād (or riwāyāt) of one manuscript of the *Kitāb ġar... al-ḥadīṯ* (*The Book of Uncommon* [*Vocabulary*] *in the Ḥadīṯ*)[301] and one manu... script of the *Kitāb al-ʾamṯāl* (*The Book of Proverbs*),[302] we can infer that A... ʿUbayd's most important transmitter, ʿAlī ʾbn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 287/900), "rea... both works before his teacher, thus applying the practice of *qirāʾah*. (A furthe... manuscript of the *Kitāb ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ*[303] as well as the manuscripts of the *Kit... al-ġarīb al-muṣannaf* (*The Book of Uncommon* [*Vocabulary*], *Arranged Systema... calīy*), available to [61] me through descriptions, are uninformative in this respe... the respective transmission formulae used in the introductory ʾisnāds—*qāla* or ʿ... ["he said"; "on the authority of"][304]—are unspecific.)

The introductory ʾisnād (or riwāyah) of the only surviving manuscript of Al... ʿUbayd's *Kitāb an-nāsiḫ wa-ʾl-mansūḫ fī ʾl-Qurʾān* (*The Book of the Abrogati... and the Abrogated in the Qurʾān*)[305] as well as several ʾisnāds in the text of th... book[306] show that, in some cases, Abū ʿUbayd himself recited his works befo... his students, that is, transmitted them through the practice of *samāʿ*.

This raises the following question: under which circumstances was *samāʿ* cons... dered to be the appropriate transmission method for finalized (philological) work... In this context, two anecdotes contained in al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī's *Tārīḫ Baġd... article*[307] on Abū ʿUbayd [62] are particularly instructive. They suggest that A... ʿUbayd (and probably others as well) used the more laborious method *samāʿ*... accorded to highly respected colleagues, while it was employed as ■ matter... course with higher-ranking personalities.

Abū ʿUbayd had consented to recite the *Kitāb ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ* (*The Book... Uncommon* [*Vocabulary*] *in the Ḥadīṯ*) to a gathering of scholars in Aḥm... ibn Ḥanbal's house. After a critical remark by the traditionist ʿAlī ʾb... al-Madīnī (d. 235/849), whom he did not know personally, he angrily retorte... "(Previously) I have only recited it to (the caliph) al-Maʾmūn. If you want... read it, read it (yourselves)!" Only after learning that he was talking to th... famous ʿAlī ʾbn al-Madīnī did he start to lecture. Each participant—and... one else!—was now entitled to transmit the work presented to him by *sam... with the formula *ḥaddaṯa-nī*. In another case, Abū ʿUbayd adamantly refus... to recite the *Kitāb a-ġarīb al-muṣannaf* (*The Book of Uncommon* [*Vocabular... Arranged Systematically*) to the philologist Ibn as-Sikkīt (d. 244/858) in priva... lecture.

The further transmission of the works of Abū ʿUbayd was primarily acco... plished by *qirāʾah*. This is indicated by the predominance of the phras... *qaraʾtu/qaraʾnā ʿalā*, "I/we read before" (which certainly marks *qirāʾah*)... ʾaḫbara-nī/-nā, "he informed me/us" (which probably points to *qirāʾah*) in th... relevant ʾisnāds.[308]

Like the *Kitāb Sībawayhi* (*Sībawayhi's Book*), Abū ʿUbayd's "standard work... occasioned the writing of commentaries (which could be based on glosses an... explanations of the work in a lecture), addenda, supplements, abridgemen... corrections, and so on. This is precisely what happened to the *Kitāb al-ġar... al-muṣannaf* (*The Book of Uncommon* [*Vocabulary*], *Arranged Systematically*),[3...

the *Kitāb ġarīb al-ḥadīt* (*The Book of Uncommon [Vocabulary] in the Ḥadīt*),[310] and the *Kitāb al-amtāl* (*The Book of Proverbs*).[311]

Also for the field of philology, we have now established that, as a rule, once a finalized book was at hand, *qirāʾah* was the most suitable form of transmission, which usually went hand in hand with the explanation of ■ work by a teacher. [63] In the following section, we will see that the same situation prevailed (to an even higher degree) in medico-philosophical teaching.

III

Let us now leave the field of philology and turn to medico-philosophical teaching. From a passage in Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Epistle* quoted above,[312] we know that the transmission of knowledge in this discipline was similar to the system already employed in Alexandria: teacher and students together read and commented on one of the classics. Later sources inform us that a student read out sections of the work under discussion before ■ teacher (*qaraʾa ʿalā*) and that the teacher commented on the sections during which he could also dictate his comments for his students to write down.

In this way, the Nestorian priest, physician, and philosopher Abū 'l-Faraǧ 'Abd Allāh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043) went through Galen's *To Glaukon* with his students at Baġdād's 'Aḍudī hospital.[313] From Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib's dictated explanations, taken down by a student (*hypomnēma*), a new book, a commentary, could arise. About Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, we hear that the majority of his works "used to be transmitted on his authority through dictation after his own words" (*kānat tunqalu ʿan-hu ʾimlāʾan min lafẓi-hi*).[314] For his medico-philosophical teaching, we can establish something like an *ʾisnād* similar to the longer or shorter chains of poetical transmitters of ancient Arabic poetry[315] or, in grammar, the unbroken line of transmitters of the *Kitāb Sībawayhi* (cf. p. 50):

Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib studied with al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār, called Ibn al-Ḥammār (d. 411/1020),[316] he in turn "read before" (*qaraʾa ʿalā*) Yaḥyā 'bn 'Adī (d. 363/974),[317] Yaḥyā "read before" Abū Bišr Mattā (d. 328/940) and al-Fārābī (d. 339/950),[318] [64] finally, Abū Bišr allegedly "read before" the monks Rūfīl (?), Benjamin, and others.[319]

Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib's most important student was the Nestorian physician Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066). About him, we read that he was "good at reading" (*ḥakīmah*) and other books "before" his teacher,[320] Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 646/1248) claims that in one of Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib's commentaries, he saw the copy (*mīlād*) of ■ notice in the author's own hand confirming to his student Ibn Buṭlān that he had read the book from beginning to end before him.[321]

In the first section of *al-Maqālah al-miṣrīyah*, the "Egyptian treatise," his medico-philosophical dispute with Ibn Riḍwān (d. 453/1061),[322] Ibn Buṭlān has left us ■ discussion of "the causes why something learnt from oral instruction by teachers is better and easier to understand than something learnt from books, given that the receptive faculty of both (of the students) be the same."[323]

Ibn Buṭlān lists seven reasons for his assumption which can be summarized as follows:

1 A transfer of ideas from the homogenous to the homogenous (namely teacher—student) is more feasible than from the heterogenous to the heterogenous (namely book—student).

2 In contrast to books, ■ teacher can replace words not understood by the student with other words.

3 There is a natural reciprocal relation between teaching and learning; therefore learning from ■ teacher is more appropriate for a student than learning from ■ book.

4 [65] The spoken word is not as far removed from the intended meaning as the written word. The word coined in the mind (the term) is already nothing more than a simile of the intended meaning it is based on (the substratum). Therefore, the spoken word is a simile of a simile. The written word in turn is no more than a simile thrice removed.

5 In the process of *qirāʾah* (the reading out of the book by the student), knowledge is mediated to the student by *two* senses, ear and eye. As the most appropriate (homogenous) to the word, however, hearing plays the m...

6 Books are vulnerable to certain problems that ■ detrimental to underst... ding a text and which do not occur in ■ teaching situation (or ■ quickly tak... care of): ambiguous terms, miswritings caused by letters without diacriti... points, copyists' mistakes and such, the insufficient knowledge of desinent... inflection, the absence or corruption of vowel signs (i.e. all the defects th... are occasioned by peculiarities of the Arabic script!), and other issues. F... thermore, there are, among others, the (difficult) style of ■ work, the autho... (special) manner of expression, the corruption of manuscripts and their fau... transmission, and, lastly, untranslated Greek terms.

7 The commentators unanimously agree that a certain Aristotelian passa... would never have been understood if Aristotle's students Theophrastus ■ ... Eudemus had not heard it from the master and had it explained by him. Curr... opinion confirms this: see the pejorative appellations *ṣuḥufī* ("someone w... takes his knowledge only from notebooks") for ■ (pseudo)scholar who l... not frequented learned men or *muḥarrif* (roughly "dilettante") for somebo... who has not learned from (at least) two experienced masters. The conten... reserved for students and even scholars who have not frequented learned m... is documented by the fact that people avoid books without ■ teacher's ... confirming ■ student's personal attendance at his lectures.

Ibn Buṭlān's reason for discussing this subject in his correspondence with I... Riḍwān is well-known: the latter was an autodidact and allegedly wrote a bo... on the fact that "learning the (medical) art from books is preferable to that w... teachers."[324] For the Christian Ibn Buṭlān, who had studied with such emin...

authorities in the field as Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, it must have been a special treat to confront his Muslim adversary (among others) with those arguments in favor of the "heard"/"audited" transmission which Muslim [66] scholars had been advancing for a long time in validation of its advantages over "merely written" transmission!

The new elements in Ibn Buṭlān's argument can be identified by comparing it with a passage from Ibn Qutaybah's *Kitāb aš-šiʿr wa-ʾš-šuʿarāʾ* (*The Book of Poetry and Poets*)[325] or a similar discussion in al-Azharī's *Tahḏīb al-luġah* (*The Refinement of Language*),[326] which argue in ∎ similar manner for "audited" or "heard" transmission.

On a *ṣuḥufī*, "whose capital is the notebooks he has read," al-Azharī makes the following remark:

He frequently misplaces the diacritical points, because he reports (material) from 'books' he has not heard and from notebooks, of whose contents he does not know whether they are right or wrong. Most of the material we have read from notebooks which were not properly punctuated and which had not been corrected by experts is *weak*; only the ignorant rely on it.

New in Ibn Buṭlān's account are points 1, 3, 4, and 5, in which he applies his philosophical knowledge and philosophical terminology. Point 6 and the second part of point 7, however, are simply adaptations and extensions of familiar arguments advanced by *ḥadīṯ* scholars and philologists to show that *ḥadīṯ* and poetry should not just be copied from notebooks.

Fears about mistakes in writing and reading based on the peculiarities of the Arabic script could have been a very real issue at the time: Ibn Buṭlān's contemporary, the Christian physician Saʿīd ibn al-Hasan, writing in 464/1072, reports in his *Kitāb at-tašwīq aṭ-ṭibbī* (*Arousing Longing for Medicine*) about cases in which the wrong punctuation in the name of drugs had lethal consequences.[327]

At the beginning of this chapter,[328] we had allowed for the possibility that methods of the late antique teaching tradition may have influenced the learning and teaching practices in the early Arabo-Islamic sciences. We can now confidently assert that in later times, teaching methods of Islamic *ḥadīṯ* scholars had ∎ impact on those of medico-philosophical instruction, which was still to a large part controlled by non-Muslims. This is borne out by the fact that Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib (if not an earlier physician before him) wrote explicit *qirāʾah* notes for [67] his students into the books read before him[329] and that such notes are not infrequent in medical manuscripts as well.[330] We also know, for example, of manuscripts read before ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī (d. 629/1231) which contain such an authentication by the famous physician.[331]

Finally, we have to bear in mind that in this field we have once again to do with *heard*, not *oral* transmission. Even more naturally than in the case of *ḥadīṯ*, "reports" (*ʾaḫbār*), philological and grammatical material, and so on, teaching is based on a written record (and in this case on ∎ book in the proper sense), which

was read aloud and commented on. Ibn Buṭlān's fifth argument (apparently a ne[w] idea) even assigns the eyes a certain auxiliary role in learning (though only t[he] reader and not the other listeners may profit from the sense of sight).

Addenda

P. 48
At this moment, I no longer believe that there was a linear development le[a]ding from the kind of plain religious instruction which was—according to t[he] *Kitāb al-ʿilm* (*The Book of Knowledge*) in al-Buḫārī's *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* (*The Sou[nd] [Compilation]*)—dispensed by the Prophet and the later system of *ḥadīṯ* tra[n]mission. Rather, this system was introduced in the last third of the first/seve[n] century, beginning with systematic collections by scholars such as ʿUrwah i[bn] az-Zubayr.[332]

According to G. Strohmaier, Hunayn's "Christian friends" did "not stu[dy] medical works of the 'ancients', but rather their theological and philosophi[cal] books."[333] If this is correct, we could only cite Hunayn's testimony as *gene[ral]* evidence for the continuity between late Alexandrian and Arabo-Christian te[a]ching practices, not as proof for the migration of *medical* teaching practices "fr[om] Alexandria to Baghdad." See further Lameer (1997) and Gutas (1999).

P. 52
I now believe that Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* ("*The Book*") was originally an epis[tle] (*risālah*); note that the first seven sections of the book were called *ar-Risālah* (*T[he] Epistle*).[334]

Possibly, al-Ḥalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿarūḍ* (*The Book of Prosody*) belonged to the ge[nre] of "literature of the school destined for oral lectures." Compare la[ter] Chapter 6, especially p. 151.

Pp. 58–59, II
On this issue, compare my remarks concerning p. 48.

3

WRITING AND PUBLISHING

On the use and function of writing in early Islam

I

Without writing, the following would be useless: contracts (*uhūd*), stipulations in contracts (*šurūṭ*), authentic records (*sijillāt*), promissory notes (or: statements of commercial transactions, *ṣikāk*), every granting of land (*iqṭāʿ*), every remittance (*infāq*), every letter of protection (*amān*), every contract (*ʿahd*) and treaty (*ʿaqd*), every arrangement of protection (*ǧiwār*) and confederacy (*ḥilf*). To emphasize the significance of all these things in order to be able to rely on them and to put trust in them, the people in pre-Islamic times used to call on people who would record alliances and truces in writing on their behalf, because they considered the matter to be so important and wanted to keep it from being forgotten.335

The use of writing for contracts, letters, and other important types of documents al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 255/868–869) lists in this passage in fact probably dates back to the *ǧāhilīyah* (the period before Islam).336 Without doubt, written contracts, letters [2] and the like existed in the period during which Islam emerged—prominent examples are as follows: the Qurʾānic command to have debts recorded by a scribe (*Sūrah* 2: 282)337; the Prophet's famous Constitution of Medina338 and his equally well-known treaty of al-Ḥudaybīyah339; and, finally, the numerous epistles which Muhammad sent to various Arab tribes.340 Contemporary poetry also testifies to the existence of written contracts. The Medinese Qays ibn al-Ḫaṭīm (d. 620) says:341

When, in the early morning, their battle lines appear,/the relatives and leaves [i.e. treaties] call for us

lammā badat ġudwatan ǧibāhu-humū/ḥannat ʾilay-nā ʾl-ʾarḥāmu wa-ṣ-ṣu-ḥafū

Since it is highly unlikely that the use of writing for these purposes emerged exactly during the lifetime of the Prophet, we can confidently assume that, at least in the Arab urban centers, writing was already practised before Islam.342

Arabic tradition contains reports about written treaties concluded during th... *ǧāhilīyah* (the period before Islam). While it will not be maintained here th... all these reports are historical, they can at least be read as valuable sources f... the customs and conventions observed in the conclusion of treaties in ancie... times.

In the scholia to his recension of Hassān ibn Tābit's (d. c.50/670) *Dīwān* (co... lected poems), Muhammad ibn Habīb (d. 245/860) writes about an alliance (*ḥil...* between the tribe of al-Ḫuzāʿah and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of t... Prophet. [3] It runs343: "They entered the house of the council and drafted ... writing a document between them (*katabū bayna-hum kitāban*) ... and suspend... the document inside the Kaʿbah." A little later, he writes: "Between them, th... drafted in writing a document written out for them by Abū Qays ibn ʿAbd Mar... ibn Zuhrah ..., and the document ran a follows:..."

The *Sīrah*344 mentions another agreement concluded two generations later, a... in Mecca. Confronted with a thriving Islamic community, the Qurayš are said ... have agreed among themselves not to marry people from the Banū Hāšim and t... Banū Muṭṭalib. The *Sīrah* reports:

They met and deliberated on drawing up a document (*katabū kitā-ban*), in which they agreed to boycott the Banū Hāšim and the Banū Muṭṭalib ... And when they had decided on that, they wrote it on a sheet (*ṣaḥīfah*) and solemnly agreed on the points; then, they suspended the sheet inside the Kaʿbah (*fī ǧawf al-kaʿbah*) to remind them of their obli- gations (*tawkīdan ʿalā ʾanfusi-him*). The writer of the sheet was Manṣūr ibn ʿIkrimah ibn ʿĀmir ibn Hāšim ibn ʿAbd Manāf ..., but it is also said that it was an-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārit.

For our purposes, two features of these reports are to be stressed. First, the wri... name is mentioned; this occurs several times in such reports.345 Thus, we are t... that ʿAlī ʾbn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/660) was ordered by the Prophet to write down ... truce of al-Ḥudaybīyah.346 That the name of the scribe is listed does not come ... surprise in a society in which writing was still considered an "art" and conseque... highly valued.347 In addition, the scribe vouched with his name for the truth ... accuracy of what he had written.

More important, however, is the second point. To emphasize the excepti... significance of the treaties, which were in fact concluded in Mecca, they... reported to have been suspended in the Kaʿbah "to remind them [i.e. the pe... concerned] of their obligations." Since there were no archives in ancient Ar... such documents were usually stored in the homes of the parties involved or pe... carried them with them. [4] We often hear about documents being kept in scabb... After the death of their owner, they were handed down in the family.348

We hear only of particularly important documents and deeds that they w... either suspended or deposited in the Kaʿbah.349 From the early ʿAbbāsid ... we have a corresponding report: al-Masʿūdī350 writes that Hārūn ar-R...

(r. 170–193/786–809) deposited the contract he drew up between his sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn in the Ka'bah (ʿawdaʿa-hū 'l-kaʿbah).

Depositing documents and other important pieces of writing in special places (temples, archives, or libraries)—or at least the reference to archives and such the (alleged) place of custody of documents in order to confirm their existence or to establish reports about their contents ■ believable—was widely practised in antiquity, both in the Orient and the Occident. ■ Thus, we hear that legal documents were placed in Egyptian temples and later in the libraries of Coptic monasteries.352 In 1 Samuel 10: 25, we read: "Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in ■ book, and laid it up before the Lord." Of Heraclitus, we are told that the deposited ■ book consisting of three *logoi* (lectures) in the temple of ■ god.353 Tacitus reports the following about Caesar and Brutus: *"fecerunt enim et carmina et in Bybliothecas rettulerunt"* ("for they composed [lit. made] odes and they were stored in the libraries"; *Dial.* XXI: 6).354

[5] The purpose of this exercise is obvious: apart from the added weight derived from its location, its main aim in ancient times was to make available an authentic original, which could be checked at any time and by anybody, was permanent, and could possibly be reproduced. Thus, we are dealing with a form of publication or at least "a sort of anticipation of publication."355

Since writing can be used to record facts permanently and disseminate them, an Arab could, during the *ǧāhiliyah* (the period before Islam) and in early Islam, threaten to "preserve" in writing a (true or alleged) outrage committed against him by an opponent, perhaps in the form of a "billposter." The accused must, then, have feared that his name and that of his family would be associated with the said outrage permanently and everywhere. In the *Sīrah* (Prophetic Biography),356 Abū Ǧahl tells al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib:

If what she [sc. your sister, ʿĀtikah] says is true, so be it, . . . but if nothing of it is, we will write a document (*kitāban*) against you (to the effect) that you are the greatest liars of the people of the shrine [i.e. the Meccans] among the Arabs!357

In (official) epistles and letters of protection, the function of writing was very often similar to that in contracts. Thus, letters written by the Prophet to Arab tribes were "documents issued for them by M[uhammad]; (they) contain the conditions, under which. . . [6] they were admitted [sc. into the Islamic community]."358

The Prophet does not seem to have kept an archive.359 Apparently, these documents were preserved among favored families.360

The official letters of the Prophet are typologically close to the legal provisions on blood money (*diyah, maʿāqil*) he issued to supplement the scant Qur'ānic material on the subject. According to tradition, which is unanimous in this respect, he recorded them in writing (or had them written down). At-Ṭabarī reports361 "In this year [sc. 2/623–624], the Messenger of God wrote down . . . the provisions ■ blood money (*kataba 'l-maʿāqil*)."

Another tradition refers to the Prophet recording the provisions on a sh[ort] (*ṣaḥīfah*),362 Goldziher has already considered these provisions to be the olde[st] probably authentic "elements of legal *Ḥadīṯ*" and observed that, contrary to oth[er] *Ḥadīṯ* material, their written transmission did not meet any resistance "beca[use] their authenticity was generally accepted."363 In the following sentence, at-Ṭab[arī] also tells us how these legal provisions were kept: "and they were attached to [his] sword."364

In private letters,365 which are also well attested for the early Islamic era, wri[ting] had a slightly different function. It allowed the transmission of a message ove[r a] distance without the messenger (or other people) necessarily knowing about [the] contents.366

II

[7] Ancient Arabic poetry was, like tribal tradition (*ʾayyām al-ʿarab*, "the batt[le/] days of the Arabs"; *ʾaḫbār*, reports), genealogies (*ʾansāb*), and proverbs (*ʾamṯ[āl]*), originally only intended for oral recitation and oral dissemination. Oral recitati[on] was its mode of publication. Thus, the publication of poetry took quite a diffe[rent] form from that of contracts. Even after the poems had been collected in writ[ten] the *rāwī*, "wider circles, at first from the poet's own tribe,"368 took it on thems[elves] responsible for the recitation and dissemination of his poems.367 After the poet's death, his *rāwī* was exclusiv[ely] publication of poetry. During the lifetime of the poet, he himself or his *rāwī* [...] compilations, oral recitation remained for a long time the proper procedure for about the *ruwāt* (transmitters) of famous poets and even know them by name, ves to learn his collection of poems. While we often have sufficient informat[ion] this later stage in the transmission of ■ collection of (or isolated) poems is m[uch] less well attested. The situation becomes clearer again only with the appeara[nce] of the "learned *ruwāt*" (*rāwiyāt*)370 such as Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlā' (d. c.1[...] 770–771 or 157/773–774), Ḥammād ar-Rāwiyah (d. c.156/773), Ḫalaf al-Ah[mar] (d. c.180/796), and al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī (d. c.164/780). Motivated by an "a[ca-] demic" interest in poetry, they excelled at collecting large compilations of mate[rial] covering several tribes.

According to the scant information we have about the intermediate perio[d of] transmission between *ruwāt* and *rāwiyāt*, the latter received poems and rep[orts] about ancient times from the following sources: "bedouins" (*ʾaʿrāb*), especi[ally] tribal elders (*ʾašyāḫ*)—apparently people who played an important role in pre[serv-] ving and transmitting the traditional material of their tribes371—and other mem[bers] of the poet's tribe, among them also women, as well as from transmitter-p[oets] such as Ḏū 'r-Rummah (d. 117/735) [8], Ǧarīr (d. c.111/729), and al-Faraz[daq] (d. c.110/728),372 in particular, and also their children and grandchildren [for] example, Ǧarīr's grandson is mentioned).373

Early on, the preservation of poetry was thought to involve not only the c[on-] servation of the quality of the transmitted material, but also, where possi[ble]

its improvement. Shortly before his death, al-Huṭay'ah (d. around the middle of the second/seventh century), himself ■ famous *rāwī*,[374] is said to have exclaimed: "Woe be to poetry which falls into the hands of a bad *rāwī*!" (*wayl li-'š-šiʿr min rāwiyat as-sū*').[375]

Once, Halaf al-Ahmar told his student al-Asmaʿī (d. 213/828).[376] "In the past, transmitters were wont to improve the poems of the ancients." In fact, we have more evidence for such interventions since early Islamic times. Ibn Muqbil (d. after 35/656 or 70/690) is reported to have said.[377] "Let the verses go crooked and bent. Then the transmitters bring them back straightened" (*inni la-ursilu 'l-buyūt ʿūǧan fa-tawti 'r-ruwāt bi-hā qad ʿaqāma-hā*).

Ǧarīr and al-Farazdaq let their *ruwāt* polish (review) their poems. In the course of ■ longer narrative in the *Kitāb al-aġānī*,[378] reported by Abū 'l-Faraǧ on the authority of an uncle of al-Farazdaq, we find the following information about the work of the *ruwāt* of these two famous poets of the Umayyad age:

I came to al-Farazdaq . . . I entered (the house of) his transmitters and met them while they were straightening out (*yuṣaddidūn*) what was crooked in his poetry (*mā 'nharafa min šiʿri-hī*) . . . I then came to Ǧarīr . . . I found his transmitters in the process of putting aright (*yuqawwimūn*) what was crooked in his poems and (of correcting the rhymes) which contained the fault named *sinād*.[379]

[9] One of the interesting details contained in this story is the fact that the things which the transmitters were supposed to correct also included faults in the rhyme scheme.

During the conversation mentioned above, Halaf al-Ahmar is said to have told al-Asmaʿī to correct ■ verse by Ǧarīr, even though it was perfectly clear that Ǧarīr had composed in this form and even though al-Asmaʿī had read this verse in this very form before Abū 'Amr—because Ǧarīr, according to Halaf, did not refine his poetry enough and was careless with his expressions.[380] In this case, the verse was improved by replacing one preposition with another. Originally, Ǧarīr is reported to have said:

O what ■ day to be remembered the good fortune of which *appeared before* its misfortune/when the slanderer was far and the carper idle.
fa-yā la-ka yawman ḫayru-hū qabla šarri-hī/taġayyaba wāšī-hi wa-ʾaqṣara ʿādilu-h.

Halaf is said to have substituted *qabla* with *dūna* because it improved the meaning:

O what a day to be remembered the good fortune of which was *without* its misfortune . . .
fa-yā la-ka yawman ḫayru-hū dūna šarri-hī.

In a report traced back to al-Māzinī (d. 248/862), we are told that al-Asmaʿī himself improved a verse by Imru' al-Qays: he replaced an expression considered unsuitable in the verse's context with ■ more suitable one. Sometimes transmitters also corrected mistakes in the *ʿarabiyah* (pure Arabic).[381]

The arbitrary practices of the transmitters are aptly summed up in this saying *ar-rāwiyah ʾahad aš-šāʿirayn*, "the transmitter is a poet."[382]

Thus, *ruwāt* (transmitters) of this period placed their emphasis not so much textual accuracy and the faithful transmission of the original, but the preservation indeed the improvement of a poem's artistic and linguistic quality. The idea a written redaction, that is, a literary publication of the material, is incompatible with this concept of transmission. One form (or at least ■ anticipation) of writing publication was the deposition of contracts discussed above. In the case of poetry however, the publication was still very closely connected to personal [10] ■ oral—"heard" or "audited"—transmission and dissemination. While the former procedure was meant to determine ■ text's wording and preserve it unambiguously and perdurably, the latter was intended to be disseminated to ■ possibly wide should be kept and what was not yet mature or unfinished should *not* be preserved Thus, it was to remain open for future improvement. Only ■ competent person rather than any well written piece of writing—could guarantee this process.

Yet, the circumstances described above do not at all exclude the use of writing the process of transmission. In fact, we have numerous testimonies from this period which show that poets and *ruwāt* possessed written notes and even substantial collections. These notes, however, were not intended to be disseminated to ■ public; their main purpose was to serve ■ an aide-mémoire for the transmitter Thus, writing fulfilled a completely different function than it had in the recording contracts and letters of protection. In the latter case, it served a basic, fundamental purpose; in the former, its function was largely auxiliary.

In one of his polemical poems (*naqāʾiḍ*, "poetic flytings"),[383] al-Farazdaq li numerous earlier poets whose works he transmits. In this context, he says:[384]

They left me their book as an inheritance . . .
dafaʿū ʾilayya kitāba-humū waṣiyyatan

A few verses later, he says:[385]

Of al-Ǧaʿfarī [= Labīd] and the earlier Bišr (ibn Abī Ḫāzim)/I possess the written compilation of their poems,
wa-'l-Ǧaʿfariyu wa-kāna Bišrun qabla-hū/ī min qaṣāʾidi-hī 'l-kitābu 'l-m mahi.

These verses tell us that al-Farazdaq owned notebooks containing the poe he transmitted: he explicitly mentions that he possessed the "book" of Labī and Bišr's "compiled" poems. This means that these poets themselves and

rūwāt (at least) one generation before al-Farazdaq must have produced records; otherwise, he could not claim to have inherited their notebooks as a legacy.

[11] Al-Farazdaq's *rāwī* Ibn Mattawayhi is explicitly reported to have written down the poems of his master.[386] When he wanted to compose a lampoon on the Banū Numayr, Ǧarīr told his transmitter Ḥusayn: "Put more oil into the lamp today and prepare tablets and ink!"[387]

Already at this stage, we can document the existence of "books" with tribal lore and such. As al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī reports on the authority of Abū ʿUbaydah,[388] we have the following verse by aṭ-Ṭirimmāḥ (d. c.110/728)—and not, as is sometimes assumed, by Bišr ibn Abī Ḥāzim (d. after 600)[389]—which mentions a *Kitāb Banī Tamīm*:

In the Book of the Banū Tamīm, we found,/"The borrowed horse is the best one for the race"

(waǧadnā fī kitābi banī Tamīmin /ʾaḥaqqu ʾḫayli bi-ʾ-rrakḍi ʾl-muʿārī).

This quotation from the *Kitāb Banī Tamīm* apparently records a proverb or saying (*maṯal*).

During this time, just as the writing down of *Ḥadīṯ* material became predominant in practice while in theory it was fiercely attacked by scholars, especially those from Basrah and Kūfah,[390] so too, the use of writing for the recording of poetry also met with criticism. Significantly, it was aimed above all at one poet who still represented the bedouin tradition: Ḏū ʾr-Rummah (d. 117/735).

In al-Marzubānī's *Kitāb al-muwaššah* (*The Adorned*),[391] we find ▮ set of three anecdotes describing how Ḏū ʾr-Rummah either dictated his poems to three scholars and transmitters, namely Šuʿbah ibn al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ (d. 160/776), Ḥammād ar-Rāwiyah (d. c.156/773), and ʿĪsā ʾbn ʿUmar aṯ-Ṯaqafī (d. 149/766) or had them "read out before" him—during which, naturally enough, the scholars used written records. In the course of this exercise, the poet is said to have instructed them on graphical matters and pointed out mistakes in their notes. Asked by the surprised scholars whether he could write, Ḏū ʾr-Rummah explained that a "settled" scribe—according to one version of the story, he hailed from al-Ḥīrah—visited him in the desert and taught him to write by drawing the letters in [12] the sand. Two versions record that the poet asked the scholar not to tell anybody about his literacy.

Thanks to ▮ statement by a literary theorist, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Ġafūr al-Kalāʿī (fl. c.542/1148),[392] we also know *why* the use of writing by Bedouin poets was frowned upon:

In their [sc. a group of scholars'] opinion, artificiality (*takalluf*) is to be rejected, and therefore, they had doubts about the purity of the language (*faṣāḥah*) of a poet who wrote. They feared that he would be unnatural and affected by using the pen and have recourse to his sense of sight for

(poetic) speech, since (when a poet writes) those two [sc. pen and sense of sight] are part of the work and play a role in (the process of) composition.

According to this point of view, writing is not needed as ▮ support by someo[ne] endowed with natural poetic talent. Poets working with pen and paper were co[n]sidered to be "unnatural," "affected," and regarded by certain scholars as le[ss] talented than those who eschewed these tools.

Even such ▮ negative example demonstrates how widespread the use of writi[ng] as a mnemonic aid was with poets and *rūwāt* of the early second/eighth centu[ry]. In addition, al-Marzubānī's anecdotes give us some insight into the methods [of] the learned *rūwāt*, who at this time began to collect poetry on a large scale: th[e] recorded (in writing) poems and "read" them out "before" the poets or transmitt[ers] (*qirāʾah*). Their records, which they kept at home and consulted when need[ed] have nothing to do with "publications." In line with ancient Arab custom, poeti[c] recitation, which now developed into public scholarly lectures,[393] remained or[al]

Similar to the *ḥadīṯ* scholars teaching in Basrah and Kūfah, Baṣrian and Kūf[ian] philologists (Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ, Ḥammād ar-Rāwiyah, Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar, a[nd] al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī) recited their material from memory. The *rāwiyāt* did r[..] leave any writings they themselves had edited.

In his article on Ḥammād ar-Rāwiyah, Ibn an-Nadīm[394] explicitly notes th[at] nobody had ever seen a book by him: "books" circulating under his ▮ we[re] edited by later scholars. Ḥammād of course also possessed written records, but only used them for private purposes. According to ▮ report in the *Kitāb al-aġā[nī]* (*The Book of Songs*) [13] transmitted on the authority of Ḥammād himself, he w[as] once summoned by the caliph al-Walīd ibn Yazīd (r. 125–126/734–735). Bef[ore] meeting him, Ḥammād read up on what the caliph would most likely question h[im] about. He is said to have reasoned:

I said (to myself): "He is surely going to ask me only about his ancestors on his mother's and his father's side, the Qurayš and the Ṯaqīf." I therefore consulted the books Qurayš and Ṯaqīf. But when I joined him, he asked me for the poems of the Balī.[395]

It seems, from the anecdote, that Ḥammād—and probably also other *rāwiyāt* arranged their collections according to tribes. This confirms the claims Goldziher[396] and Bräu,[397] who argued that tribal *dīwāns* (collected poems) w[ere] the original form of poetical collections and preceded the *dīwāns* of individu[al] poets. The written records in question should not, however, be equated with [the] tribal *dīwāns* redacted by the philologists of the following (the third/ninth) centu[ry] They are at most precursors to these later compilations. In all likelihood, they w[ere] not even collections of poems alone, but probably also contained tribal traditio[n] proverbs, and whatever else was considered worth knowing. The quotation fr[om] the *Kitāb Banī Tamīm* mentioned above[398] is manifestly ▮ proverb.

We should also note that, in his private audience with the caliph, Hammād did what he usually did in his public recitations: he left his books at home. He did not need the support of writing—or, at least, he wanted to give that impression.

In a dirge, Abū Nuwās (d. c.200/815) praised his teacher Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar, ■ student of Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā' and himself a famous *rāwiyah*, with the following words:399

he was accustomed not to make the meaning of the words obscure and not to recite from notebooks [or: not to rely on notebooks] (*wa-lā yuṣammī maṭnā 'l-kalāmi wa-lā yaḳūmu 'nšādu-hū [or:'isnādu-hū] 'an aṣ-ṣuḥufī*).

Al-Ǧāḥiẓ reports400 on the authority of Abū 'Ubaydah (d. 207/822 or slightly later) that Abū 'Amr had enough notebooks to fill one of his rooms almost to the roof. Even if he, ■ this report adds, had not destroyed them at a later date, [14] these records would not have reached posterity: they were "books" he had recorded from "bedouins of pure speech," that is, "lecture" notes for his private use. They were not edited books intended for publication. In line with contemporary practice, Abū 'Amr had received his knowledge by way of *samā'* ("audited" transmission).401 Like *Hadīṭ* scholars, Basrian and Kūfan philologists retained the practice of reciting their material orally and, whenever possible, from memory, until the third/ninth century.

According to his student Ṭa'lab (d. 291/904),402 Ibn al-A'rābī (d. 231/846) held his lectures for years without any written notes. Still, a revealing anecdote403 tells us that he kept numerous "books" at home: on one occasion, Ibn al-A'rābī is said to have claimed that a number of bedouins (before whom he "heard") were at his home. However, it turned out that not a single bedouin had shown up at his home; rather, he had been consulting the "books" he kept there! The anecdote throws into sharp relief the discrepancy between ideal and reality or between theory and practice of instruction in philology (and other subjects), which came to the fore at this time (but which had existed earlier): impelled by general expectation, scholars pretended to have received their entire knowledge through "heard"/"audited" transmission404 in personal contact with their teachers. In fact, much, perhaps even most of it was copied from "books" already circulating or available at the time. As with some circles of *Hadīṭ* scholars,405 recitation from memory was practised henceforth as ■ matter of "sport," not in earnest anymore: free recitation had been identified as ■ source of inaccuracies and flaws in transmission long before.406

In the beginning and for ■ long time after, Arab poets and their *ruwāt* did not consider putting their collections into ■ final form and publishing them. The ■ can be said of the learned *ruwāt* who, even though some of them were non-Arabs, still regarded themselves as following the ancient Arab tradition. The idea of writing down a text for "public" use emerged outside this circle.

[15] Of the Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiyah (r. 41–60/661–680), we hear that he ordered *ruwāt* to select poems and "transmit" them to his son Yazīd. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 65–86/685–705) is reported to have chosen one *qaṣīdah* (polythematic poem)

each from the works of the seven famous ancient Arab poets—a precursor to th[e] *Mu'allaqāt* collection purportedly compiled by Hammād ar-Rāwiyah.407

Even though it is not explicitly stated that the recording of the collections i[n] question was in writing, it is very likely: the commission came from the caliph[...] who maintained a library. However, in this as in other cases, reliable informatio[n] can only be found in the early 'Abbāsid era and later.408

According to a report quoted in Ibn an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (*The Index or Cata[...] logue*),409 one of the major *rāwiyāt*, al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī, "produced" ('*amila[...]* the collection later known by his name ■ *al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt* for the son of al-Manṣū[r] later the caliph al-Mahdī (r. 158–169/775–785). It is clear that, at least on accoun[t] of their length, these poems were put into writing. In addition, the term '*amila[...]* "produce," in connection with *al-muḥtārah*, "the collection," also points to [...] written text.

> It consists of 128 *qaṣīdahs*, but sometimes there are more and sometimes fewer; sometimes the *qaṣīdahs* are arranged before and sometimes after according to the (respective) transmission from him. The correct one, however, is that which Ibn al-A'rābī transmitted from him.

Another report410 tells a different story about the origin of the collection: th[at] 'Alīd Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh is said to have chosen and compiled these poems ■ al-Mufaḍḍal's house from "two receptories full of (books containing) poems an[d] reports (*qimṭarayn fī-hā 'aškār wa-aḫbār*). Al-Mufaḍḍal himself did not produc[e] a conclusively edited text of his collection. Ibn an-Nadīm writes:411

Furthermore, it was the caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 136–158/754–775) who commissi[o]ned Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767) to produce a written version of his entire historic[al] material, also (as in the case of the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*) for the crown prince. The "gr[eat] book" (*al-Kitāb al-kabīr*) Ibn Ishāq subsequently wrote [16] was then included [...] the caliphal library ('*alqā 'l-Kitāb al-kabīr fī ḫazānah*).412

Even in this case, there is no question of the emergence of a fixed text transmitt[ed] further in ■ stable, standardized form. Rather, Ibn Ishāq's historical materi[al] particularly his *Kitāb al-maǧāzī* (*The Book of Campaigns*), was passed on to t[he] various redactors (Ibn Hišām, aṭ-Ṭabarī, etc.) via numerous students of Ibn Ish[āq] and their own students through the medium of lectures. The parallel transmissio[n] which ■ now available in the extant recensions sometimes differ substantially.4[...] The finished edition produced for the caliphal library seems to have disappea[red] we hear nothing more about it.

The term "publication" is not entirely appropriate for those two works—t[he] *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* and *al-Kitāb al-kabīr*—because the "public" they addressed w[as] extremely restricted (the caliph and his court). Nevertheless, we can at least spe[ak] of ■ "anticipation" of publication insofar as the scholars prepared edited versi[ons] of their collections or scripts available for use by strangers.

Soon afterwards, we encounter—still only very sporadically—another "a[...] cipation" of publication in philological circles, namely the deposition of mo[...]

copies (cf. p. 63). Significantly, it is first attested in reports about ■ scholar who, in the context of another of his works, his dictionary *Kitāb al-ǧīm* (*The Book of [the Letter] Ǧīm*), is said to have been very "stingy" with its transmission, that is, not overly interested in teaching it to his students in his lectures: Abū ʿAmr aš-Šaybānī (d. c.205/820).[414]

According to a report[415] traced back to his son ʿAmr, aš-Šaybānī used to deposit in the Kūfah mosque a copy of each of the volumes of his tribal *dīwāns* (the final count is said to have come to 80) upon completion. Obviously, a written edition had been undertaken which the author intended to be final.

III

[17] One of the first scholars writing in Arabic to compose a book with ■ fixed text, which was on the one hand to be disseminated whenever possible through the lecture system, but on the other did not depend any more on oral or "heard"/"audited" transmission on account of its edited form, was the grammarian Sībawayhi (d. c.180/796).[416] He created something unprecedented by charting ■■ entire system, that of Arabic grammar. This might be one reason why he chose the form of the literary book (divided into chapters and so on) to present his ideas. At the ■■■ time, other writings could have served as models for his text, for example, the (conclusively edited) books written by secretaries (*kuttāb*) working in the Iranian tradition: Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. c.139/756-757), for example. Obviously, the Qurʾān could have been another such model: the conclusively edited form of his book reminded Arab scholars of the *Kitāb Allāh* (*The Book of Allāh*) and they named Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* ("The Book") the *Qurʾān an-naḥw*, "the Qurʾān of grammar."[417]

To appreciate Sībawayhi's achievement adequately, we have to place it in the context of the scientific work and output of his contemporary grammarians. The Kūfian al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) is the "author" of a *Kitāb maʿānī ʾl-Qurʾān* (*The Topics of the Qurʾān*). It could be considered something of a Kūfian counterpart to Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* ("The Book") due to its treatment of numerous grammatical issues in the context of a Qurʾān commentary. Al-Farrāʾ "dictated" it from memory, without written notes, in his lecture courses" (*ʾamlā-hu...ʿan ḥifẓi-hi min ġayr nusḫah fī maǧālisi-hi*). These courses took place over ■ period of two years.[418]

There are a number of other impulses which induced exponents of the indigenous Arabic sciences to edit conclusively and publish their written records; they belong to different contexts and have to be assessed on a different basis. Three of the most important impulses, all of which have their origin outside the scholarly fields, ■ as follows:

1   The conflict with sects and heterodox movements. This impulse brought about the earliest extant theological writings, for example, the *Risālah fī-ʾl-qadar* (*Epistle on Destiny*), ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728)[419];

[18] the anti-qadarite epistle ascribed to ʿUmar II (r. 99-101/717-720) (i.e. a epistle directed against the proponents of free will)[420]; and the *Kitāb al-irǧā* (*The Book on the Postponement of Judgement*), said to have been written by al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyah (d. 99/717).[421] All of the "books," including the last, are epistles (*rasāʾil*). Thus, they belong to th written tradition of composing documents and letters discussed in the fir section of this article. In a preface to the *Kitāb al-irǧā* (*The Book on th Postponement of Judgement*), it is said (based on a chain of witnesses) th al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyah charged one of his confidan with publicly reading out the epistle.[422] Obviously, in the late first/seven and early second/eighth century, the oral "publication" of certain documen edited in writing was still considered necessary.

2   The desire of the caliphal and provincial administration to have their polici brought together in writing. This impulse lay behind the first extant "prope book on law to have survived: the *Kitāb a-ḫarāǧ* (*The Book of Land-Tax*) b Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb (d. 182/798).[423] Abū Yūsuf's work, too, takes the for of an epistle; in its introduction, we read that it was addressed to the calip Hārūn ar-Rašīd and produced at his behest.[424] Incidentally, the *Fihrist* (T *Index* or *Catalogue*) refers to it ■ *risālah* (epistle).[425] The book's immedia predecessor was a book of the same ■■■ *risālah* (epistle) ■ by the secretary (*kātib*) Ibn Yas (d. 170/786).[426] This suggests that the *risālah* ■ literary gen emerged in the milieu of the *secretaries* working in the state administration. look at the literary output of the first secretary whose [19] writings are extan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā ʾl-Kātib (d. 132/750)[427] confirms this claim: ■ his works are epistles. The use of the epistolary form by Islamic *scholars* a secondary phenomenon: the fully developed form of the scientific *risāl* was modelled on the literary *risālah* of the secretaries.[428]

3   (often not clearly distinct from point 2.) The desire of the court to have re dily available certain material which scholars only disseminated through the lectures (e.g. historical reports, poems, etc.; cf. pp. 70-71 and p. 81).

IV

The evolution of the Qurʾān into a fixed written text—as portrayed by nati tradition and considered most likely by most European scholars—took place several stages.[429] In its basic outlines, it anticipated the process leading to litera as the dominant medium for the majority of the genuinely Islamic sciences: fro notes written as mnemonic aids, it led to systematic collections, and, finally, to edited and "published" book.

Contrary to all other works of Arabic literature, however, this specific boo experienced *two* types of "publication," which, after a time, existed side by sid We have encountered these types already: the deposition of edited master copi on the one hand and oral recitation on the other. Since the originators or exponen of each of these "publication" methods differed and had different interests a

concerns, conflict was unavoidable: on one side of the divide stood the state power; on the other, the "transmitters" of the Qur'ānic text (the so-called Qur'ān readers, qurrā').

The prevailing tradition has it that the first revelation to be accorded to the Prophet was Sūrah 96: 1–5. The passage starts with ■ command to recite: [20]

Recite in the name of your Lord... (iqra' bi-'smi rabbi-ka)

Other early Sūrahs begin with qul, "say" (Sūrahs 109, 112, 113, 114). Thus, the Prophet first recited the Sūrah or part of it and had it repeated by his audience. This version of events is supported by indigenous tradition.[430] There may at first have been no need to write down the short revelations. With the growing number and length of revealed texts, however, things quickly changed: from a relatively early time onwards, perhaps sometime during the middle Meccan period, the Prophet had the revelations recorded in writing.[431] Tradition explicitly attests to this; it also names the persons the Prophet used to dictate the revelations to.[432] We need only mention the most important "scribe of the revelation" (kātib al-waḥy): Zayd ibn Tābit (d. 42/662–663 or some years later). However, it has correctly been remarked that these records only served as mnemonic aids for oral recitation.[433]

We do not know when exactly "scripture" became the objective—some claim that this process was already complete by the second year before the Hiğrah (i.e. 620 AD).[434] In general, however, the fact that the term al-qur'ān (recitation) was more and more replaced by al-kitāb (book) as the term for the revelation as a whole[435] clearly demonstrates that the ideal of a book such as that possessed by the "People of the Book" (ahl al-kitāb) came more and more into focus. This development need not be contradictory: the earlier term al-qur'ān with its two meanings "recitation" (infinitive of qara'a) and "lectionary" (from the Syriac term qeryānā)[436] does not exclude the involvement of written records ("recitation"). Rather, it implies them ("lectionary"). While the objective or ideal of the Qur'ān as a proper book was already entertained during the Prophet's lifetime, [21] it had in fact not been fashioned into a collection edited by its "author" at the time of Muhammad's death. On this point, indigenous tradition and the overwhelming majority of European scholars concur.[437] Tradition claims that at the time of the death of the Prophet, there were numerous scattered written records ■ slips (of papyrus or parchment, called riqā') (flat, white) chips of stone (lihāf), palm stalks ('usub), shoulder blades ('aktāf), ribs ('aḍlā'), scraps of leather (qita' 'adīm), and small slates ('alwāh).[438] Some versions add sheets (ṣuḥuf).[439] The reports agree on one detail, however: there was at the time no copy which consisted entirely of sheets of the same material and format (ṣuḥuf): there was no collection "between two book covers" (bayna 'l-lawḥayn).[440]

The extant reports about the first complete compilation or collection of the Qur'ān, undertaken on the order of the first caliph Abū Bakr (r. 11–13/632–634) or his successor 'Umar (r. 13–23/634–644),[441] may contain a substantial amount of legendary and false material. But with F. Schwally[442] we can probably identify the

following points as their authentic core: the instigator of the collection was either the later caliph 'Umar (r. 634–644) or (as [22] Schwally assumes) 'Umar's daughter Hafṣah (?); Zayd ibn Tābit, the "scribe of the revelation," was commissioned with its execution; and, finally, the resulting copy was for a long time in the possession of Hafṣah and was used as the basis of the first official edition of the text, commissioned by the caliph 'Utmān and again supervised by Zayd ibn Tābit. Even though some elements of the tradition suggest otherwise, this first collection cannot have been an official "state" copy[443]; unanimously, our sources report that after 'Umar's death, it was not passed on to his successor but remained in his family. If 'Umar was in fact its originator, the copy seems to have been commissioned for the caliph's private use. Soon, other prominent personalities (e.g. Ubayy ibn Ka'b, 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, and Abū Mūsā al-Aš'arī) also had their own private copies of the Qur'ān prepared.[444] Significantly, 'Umar's copy did not purport to contain the authoritative text of the Qur'ān. Consequently, we do not hear about any opposition to its compilation.

Zayd is said to have written the sacred text on ṣuḥuf, "sheets" of the same material (probably leather) and format[445] after it had existed in written form only on disparate materials. Conspicuously, this private collection was only rarely referred to as ■ muṣḥaf, a "codex," the label later given to the official collection.[446] Nevertheless, the earlier copy was already something like ■ book with a fixed form (or at least ■ prototype); it was ■ collection "between two covers" (bayna 'l-lawḥayn).[447]

Since Schwally, however, European scholars have frequently claimed that the reports about the laborious assembly of the first copy of the Qur'ān from most disparate fragments were an exaggeration. They maintained that larger groups of Sūrahs must already have been available in writing and that the story illustrates [23] the tendency to stress the miraculous character of the collection of the Qur'ān.[448] However, tradition itself, at least partially, acknowledges the existence of sheets of the same format and material (ṣuḥuf), most likely denoting connected written records of longer Qur'ānic passages.[449] Schwally did not know of these reports. Furthermore, there is no reason for us to mistrust tradition on this issue: it would have been much more obvious to connect this extraordinary phenomenon—the Qur'ān ■ the first proper Arabic book—with the Prophet himself and to place its collection into his lifetime, particularly ■ it was generally conceded that the Revelation had been written down during his lifetime by people such ■ Zayd ibn Tābit.

"We have sent down to thee the Book that it be recited to them (Sūrah 2: 51)." Verses such ■ this show that, even after the idea of ■ written revelation had gained prominence, the original concept of the oral recitation of the sacred text did not fade away or retreat into the background. Book and recitation, written and oral transmission, are but two aspects of one revelation. During the Prophet's lifetime,[450] the recitation and dissemination of the Qur'ān was carried out by the qurrā' (Qur'ān readers).[451] Their method was the same as that of the ruwāt: they recited the sacred texts orally and from memory, and if they were able to re

and write, they used written records to aid their memory. At some point, several Qur'ān readers, among them Ubayy ibn Ka'b (d. 19/640 or later) and 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32/652–653 or later), possessed complete copies based ■ their own collections.452

As far as I am aware, the relation between *qāri'* and *rāwī* was noticed and most clearly expressed by E. Beck. He writes:453 "Both recite the words of someone who preceded them: the *rāwī* those of his poet, the *qāri'* those of the revelation bestowed on Muhammad."

Since there was not yet an "official edition," different transmissions arose [24] and people began to argue about the "true form" of the Qur'ānic text.454 According to Islamic tradition, such disputes had already emerged during the Prophet's lifetime.455 After his death, there was at first no authority to decide such matters. In the transmission of ancient Arabic poetry, the varying and flexible character of a poem's text was not only tolerated but was normal and sometimes even welcomed. In the case of the revealed word of God, such flexibility after a certain time must necessarily have been scandalous. Disputes about the correct text of the sacred book such as those which surfaced at this time could become a threat to the very unity of Islam. For this reason, the caliph 'Uṯmān, on the advice of ■ of his most famous military leaders, Ḥuḏayfah, decided to commission an official edition of the Qur'ānic text.456

Our sources unanimously report that Zayd ibn Ṯābit was again entrusted with this delicate task. this time assisted by a group of prominent Qurašites. The prevailing tradition has it that Zayd could base his work on his earlier collection (*ṣuḥuf*), which was still in the possession of Ḥafṣah. According to ■ isolated report, disparate materials (small slates, shoulder blades, and palm stalks) "containing the Book" (*fī-hi 'l-kitāb*), were once again brought together from all regions and included in the preparation of the edition.457

The official, authoritative character of 'Uṯmān's edition was enforced by sending copies of the text to the *'amṣār*, the provincial capitals, where they were deposited to serve as authoritative versions of the texts while other collections were, wherever possible, to be destroyed.458 Thus, the Qur'ān had become in reality what it had theoretically and ideally already been in the Prophet's lifetime: a book with ■ (virtually) fixed form, ■ *muṣḥaf* (codex). In addition, it had, at least according to the intention of the authorities, become a "published" book with a text binding on everyone. Its publication consisted of the sending of the master copies to and deposition of them in the provincial capitals. This is the very same form of publication attested in pre-Islamic times for important contracts and treaties.

"With this act, the main emphasis of Qur'ānic transmission was shifted towards the written book."459 From now on, poetry and the Qur'ān [25] also differed in this key respect: while for the former, the free "oral" dissemination and publication was continued, a uniform, edited text had become the basis of transmission for the latter. This development can be interpreted in a positive light; in one pro-'Uṯmān tradition, we read,460 "If 'Uṯmān had not ordered the Qur'ān to be written down, people [while they were in fact reciting the Qur'ān] would have been found

engaging in reciting poetry." That is, people would have treated the text of th Qur'ān as freely ■ poets and *ruwāt* (transmitters) customarily did with their text

On the other side, there were the Qur'ān readers who had always practised th other form of "publication"; oral recitation. Their system, which, as we have see was equivalent to that of the *ruwāt*, was disrupted by the official edition of th Qur'ānic text. Their opposition is clearly visible in the charge later leveled again 'Uṯmān by numerous rebels461. "The Qur'ān was (many) books (*kutub*); you hav discarded them except for one." The Qur'ān readers and their supporters were fact not prepared to accept 'Uṯmān's collection, which they regarded as one amo many, as the ultimate authority. For a short time, one of them even managed gain ■ certain degree of recognition for "his" Qur'ān in one place: Ibn Mas'ūd Kūfah.462

Just as the *ruwāt* had come to see substantial freedom in the transmission poetical texts as ■ natural and desirable prerogative,463 so some pre-'Uṯmān Qur'ān readers considered the *riwāyah bi-'l-ma'nā* (transmission "only" of t sense of the text) sufficient. For example, they regarded it as permissible to repla words with synonyms and change the word order. One of them was Anas ibn Māli a Companion of the Prophet. He is said to have recited *'aswabu* (more accurat instead of *'aqwamu* (straighter) in *Sūrah* 73: 6, justifying himself by saying th *'aqwamu* (straighter), *'aswabu* (more accurate) and *'ahya'u* (more appropria meant the same thing.464 Thus, disputes between Qur'ān readers about the corre recitation of the text of the sacred book were ■ precedent for the later discussio among traditionists as to whether it had to be transmitted verbatim (*riwāyah bi-'l-lafẓ*),465 sufficient or whether it had to be transmitted verbatim (*riwāyah bi-'l-lafẓ*).465

[26] After the collection and dissemination of the 'Uṯmanic codex, the "gr freedom . . . the *qāri'* enjoyed in respect to the Qur'ān text during the pre-'Uṯm period" came to an end.466 The shackle that restricted this freedom was the n (virtually) fixed consonantal text of the 'Uṯmanic *muṣḥaf* (codex). Yet, the Qur' readers still had enough to do: the Qur'ān had to remain the (orally) recited wo of God. In addition, "a few remaining vestiges" of the great freedom they enjoy before the official edition lingered for a time467; the consonantal text allow different punctuations and vocalizations; the master copies sent out by 'Uṯmān s contained certain variants468; and finally, the consonantal text included diale forms—whether they could be emended according to the rules of the *'arabīy* (pure Arabic) provided food for thought.469

The seven famous Qur'ān readers belonged partially to the generation of t scholarly *ruwāt* of poetry. One scholar, Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā', even belonged both groups. "Therefore, it is not surprising that in both fields, the motivations a aspirations were the same."470 Just as the *rāwiyāt* considered it their prerogative only to preserve but, where possible, actually to improve the transmitted poeti text, so Qur'ān readers in the period up to c.132/750 reserved the right in th own recitation to follow their own linguistic competence and not the dead let especially when confronted with dialectal forms in the 'Uṯmanic consonant text The Kūfan grammarian al-Farrā' reports that Abū 'Amr read in *Sūrah* 20: 66 (

wa-ʾinna hāḏayni ("indeed these two") instead of wa-ʾinna hāḏāni ("indeed these two") (as found in the codex); on the basis of his knowledge of the ʿarabiyah (pure Arabic), he considered the latter un-Arabic and justified his conduct with a tradition traced back to a Companion of the Prophet which ran: "In the muṣḥaf, there is laḥn (dialectal expressions), but the Arabs will put it in order."[472]

As we know, subsequent developments[473] show, on the one hand, an ever-growing fixation on the codex and, on the other, the victory of the principle of tradition: [27] the power of tradition in the end sanctioned the arbitrary decisions of individual readers: the readings of the seven Qur'ān readers mentioned above became sunnah (authorized practice or procedure). By the fourth/tenth century at the latest, the time of "creative" readings was over. How to read the text was entirely determined by the respective reading traditions people were affiliated to.

V

When did qirāʾah (i.e. here: "Qur'ān reading in a narrow sense...insofar as it already presupposed an authoritative consonantal text")[474] emerge as a genre of scientific writing? When was this science first recorded in literary works? This question has recently occasioned some controversy. In what follows, we will comment on this problem. Before going into detail, however, we want to stress that the problem had already been solved in principle by Bergsträsser, Pretzl, and Beck and that we shall be compelled to return to their explanations.

As a starting point, we need to remember the following: "primarily, we have to do with an oral tradition, which was put into writing only at a later stage."[475] This clearly makes the most sense: the Qur'ānic text was read out during lectures, and the teacher explained certain problematic passages. It is perfectly conceivable that, from the very beginning, students took written notes of their teacher's comments. Bergsträsser and Pretzl, however, established that

the first written records of this kind [attested in our sources]...date from before the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the time of the younger canonical Qur'ān readers and that of the older students of the older canonical Qur'ān readers.[476]

The two scholars collected numerous passages from Ibn al-Ǧazarī's Ṭabaqāt (Classes) and other writings which contain information about Qur'ān readers of the generation of al-Aʿmaš (d. 148/765), Hamzah (d. 156/772–773), Nāfiʿ (d. c.169/785), Abū ʿAmr (d. 154/770–771 or 157/774), and others: we frequently read la-hū [the student] ʿan-hu [the teacher, e.g. al-Aʿmaš, Hamzah, etc.] nusḫah, "he [sc. the student in question] took notes from him [sc. the teacher]". Less frequently, we find kataba ʾl-qirāʾah ʿan...., "he wrote down the reading from..." or, in one case, qaraʾtu ʿalā Nāfiʿ qirāʾata-hū...wa-katabtu-hā fī kitābī, "I read out before [28] Nāfiʿ his Qur'ān reading...and wrote it down in my book."[477]

From this evidence, Bergsträsser and Pretzl drew the necessary conclusion that these nusaḫ and kutub were not yet published literary books but purely private records, "lecture notes of a kind" and thus "not, strictly speaking, a literature about Qur'ān readings, but its precursor." They maintain that these records contained "only short notes about how the Imam in question read a problematic passage."

A number of writings contemporary with these nusaḫ and circulating under the title Kitāb al-qirāʾāt (The Book of Qur'ān Readings) by scholars such as Abū ʿAmr, Ḫalaf ibn Hišām (d. 229/843) and al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/804–805) are, according to Bergsträsser and Pretzl, of the same type. They claim that writings with titles such as Iḫtilāf Nāfiʿ wa-Hamzah (The Disagreement between [the Readings of] Nāfiʿ and Hamzah) developed out of this type of notebooks. Following al-Ǧazarī, they list Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838–839) and Abū Ḥātim as-Siǧistānī (d. 255/869) as the earliest authors of compilations which drew on a larger number of authorities.[478]

Thus, we are dealing with a parallel development to Ḥadīṯ, philology, and many other Islamic sciences.[479] As with other sciences, in Qur'ān reading, the "proper" book (syngramma), which nevertheless was still to be "published" whenever possible in lecture courses, is preceded by private records prepared as mnemonic aids (hypomnēmata). Abū ʿUbayd compiled the first "standard work" in this field, too.[480] Its textual form was editorially finished, and thus stable enough that in practice, it could also be disseminated by manual copying. In theory, however, it was still to be read out before its author.

In the first chapter of the first volume of his Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums,[481] F. Sezgin speculates that it could be possible "to reconstruct some treatises on Qur'ān reading from the 1st century AH" and thereby "gain a clear picture of the beginnings of this genre." To that end, in his subsequent presentation,[482] he interprets everything the sources label as Kitāb al-qirāʾah (The Book of the Qur'ān Reading), Kitāb iḫtilāf....(The Book of the Disagreement...), Kitāb iḫtilāf bayna...wa-...(The Book of the Divergence between...and...), and so on as treatise and proper book (in the sense of syngramma)—including [29] "books" (hypomnēmata) which appeared in the first one and a half centuries. According to what we have said above, however, proper books and treatises did not yet exist in this time. In the rest of the Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, the distinction between hypomnēmata and syngramma,[483] already clearly perceived by nineteenth-century scholars such as Sprenger and Goldziher,[484] is for the most part not fully recognized and consequently not sufficiently taken into account. Part of the blame for the ensuing confusion has to rest with the Arabic terminology, which calls everything written a kitāb, whether it be scattered notes or edited books.[485] (For each item in the Fihrist [The Index or Catalogue], it is therefore necessary to verify what sort of writing hides behind the term kitāb.) The absence of the distinction between syngramma and hypomnēmata is a serious flaw which affects the whole of the Geschichte. It is a basic decision of an author of a "Historical Study of Arabic Writing" whether he confines himself to analyzing proper books or whether he includes in his work loose records intended as mnemonic aids about which we

often only have information in the biographical literature. Of course, the author is entitled to make that fundamental decision in favor of the latter. But he has to make a reasoned decision on this issue and inform his readers about the grounds on which he took it. Admittedly, the line between *syngramma* and *hypomnēma* cannot always be drawn with certainty in Arabic literature: sometimes, lecture notes and so on were transmitted in spite of their private nature and the transmission "stabilized" at some point, so that these notebooks are available to us today

■ quasi-literary works.[486]

In an excursus "On the Issue of Literacy" in his manuscript catalogue *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, R. Sellheim pointed out this fundamental mistake which Sezgin commits.[487] [30] Following Bergsträsser and Pretzl, he correctly observed that there was no *literature* on Qur'ān reading around the end of the first/seventh and in the second/eighth century.[488] It is also the case that at this time, the phrase *ʿahada ʾl-qirāʾah ʿan-hu*, "he took the reading from him," did not mean that the student read out a treatise on Qur'ān reading to his teacher (this, however, is something Sezgin did not explicitly claim), but that he himself recited the Qur'ān.[489]

On the other hand, reports such as *kāna ʾn-nās yuṣliḥūn maṣāḥifa-hum ʿalā qirāʾati-hi* [sc. ʿAṭiyah ibn Qays, d. 121/739], "people used to correct their Qur'ān copies according to his [sc. ʿAṭiyah ibn Qays'] reading"[490] show that very early on, written Qur'ān texts were used in recitations, something Sellheim doubted.[491] In lectures teaching the Qur'ān, written copies obviously functioned as *hypomnēmata*, the text of which was corrected and revised through *samāʿ*.

Somewhat later, there appeared people called *muṣḥafiyūn* in the field of Qur'ān reading, a group comparable to *ṣuḥufiyūn* in other sciences, those who received their knowledge exclusively from notebooks (*ṣuḥuf*) in circulation instead of "heard"/"audited" transmission (*ar-riwāyah al-masmūʿah, samāʿ*).[492] Abū Hātim as-Siǧistānī (d. 255/869) among others warns against trusting these people: *lā taʾhudū ʾl-Qurʾān ʿan al-muṣḥafiyīn!*, "do not learn the Qur'ān from those who have only read codices!"[493] There could not be any better evidence for the fact that also in the field of Qur'ān reading, "merely written" transmission was common practice, if frowned upon.

Again following Bergsträsser and Pretzl, Sellheim correctly describes the *nusah* (copies) and *kutub* discussed above as "written notes ... produced for private use" in contrast to the later "genuine works of an author."[494] He goes too far, however, in suggesting—in line with his general tendency to overestimate the part of purely oral teaching and learning and of memorizing material[495]—that such *nusah* (copies) were the exception rather than the rule.[496] To [31] disprove this view, we need only refer to the "large number of examples" (in the words of Bergsträsser and Pretzl), many of which they quote.[497]

An early *Kitāb fī ʾl-qirāʾāt* (*Book on the Qurʾān Readings*) associated with Yaḥyā ʾbn Yaʿmar (d. 89/707 or later) and al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), however, cannot be listed along with the said *nusah* and deserves some attention. The fact that it was ascribed to two "authors" already stands out. Sezgin calls it "the oldest"

title known to us" [sc. "of this genre of scientific writing"].[498] Sellheim wants to read the term *kitāb* differently: as a "decree," namely one issued by the governor al-Haǧǧāǧ ibn Yūsuf (d. 95/714) (on account of ■ collection of *iḫtilāf* [divergent readings] material by the two scholars).[499] We need to have ■ closer look at the relevant passages of the source work from which the existence of this book was inferred.

In his *Muqaddimah* (*Introduction*),[500] Ibn ʿAṭīyah observes:

Of the vocalisation (*šakl*) and punctuation (*naqt*) of the Qur'ān, it is said that ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān [r. 65–86/685–705] gave an order in this matter and had it performed. In Wāsit, al-Haǧǧāǧ took care of this (matter) and devoted considerable effort on it ... While he was governor of ʿIrāq, he commissioned al-Hasan (al-Baṣrī) and Yaḥyā ʾbn Yaʿmar to execute it and subsequently composed a book in Wāsit about the readings (*ʾallafa ... kitāban fī ʾl-qirāʾāt*), in which the different current readings of the people regarding (those passages) in which the writing coincided were collected (*ǧumiʿa fī-hi mā ruwiya min iḫtilāf an-nās fī-mā waqafa ʿ-hati*). For ■ long time after, people complied with it. until Ibn Muǧāhid wrote *his* book on the readings.

First of all, we have to take into account that Ibn ʿAṭīyah presents the report not as an established fact but as a tradition; in addition, indigenous reports about the introduction of vowel signs are not uniform. Besides al-Haǧǧāǧ, Abū ʾl-Aswad ad-Duʾalī (d. 69/688) and others are also mentioned in this context.[501] Therefore, the discussion of the book presupposes [32] that there is a measure of historical truth to the report. Irrespective of its historicity, it is part of ■ whole genre of traditions according to which caliphs (or, in the provinces, governors; or princes) charge scholars with writing down knowledge which previously had only been transmitted "orally" in scholarly circles, so that it could be made available to a wider audience. In addition to the reports discussed on pages 70 and 73,[502] we should recall the replies ʿUrwah ibn az-Zubayr (d. 94/712–713) is said to have sent to the written requests of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65–86/685–705) concerning the biography of the Prophet[503]; further, the report according to which the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān (r. 96–99/715–717) commissioned Abān ibn ʿUtmān (d. between 96/714 and 105/723–724) to record the biography of the Prophet in writing[504]; and, finally, the tradition reporting that ʿUmar II (r. 99–101/717–720) commissioned Abū Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn Hazm (d. 120/738) and, somewhat later, Ibn Šihāb az-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) to compile the first official codification (*tadwīn*) of *Hadīt*.[505]

Apparently, our report wants to say that, following ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Haǧǧāǧ charged the two scholars with recording all the instances of *iḫtilāf* (divergent readings) they could gather and making them available to him. Further, the text has probably to be understood as indicating that the governor compiled (or rather had the two Qur'ān experts compile) ■ "book" (whatever may have looked like) about the various (correct) readings. To that end, however,

al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ needed tools in the form of vowel signs and diacritical dots, which he or al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Yaḥyā are said to have been the first to ▪ (and thus introduce) for this purpose. The qurrāʾ (Qurʾān readings) "book" must have contained specific information on the verses in question and perhaps partial quotes. By following this "manual," individual Qurʾān readers could indicate the readings in the relevant places of their maṣāḥif (codices). For ▪ long time afterwards, this "book" is said to have served in Wāsiṭ as a guide for the reading of the Qurʾān [33] until it was replaced by Ibn Muǧāhid's work. However, the fact that we have so few reports about such ▪ predecessor to Ibn Muǧāhid's book is suspicious. Be that as it may, we can probably at least conclude that, very much like ʿUṯmān, al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ took certain measures to standardize the text of the Qurʾān.[506]

VI

O believers, when you contract a debt one upon another for a stated term, write it down, and let a writer write it down between you justly... and let the debtor dictate... and not diminish aught of it.... And call in to witness two witnesses, men.

(Sūrah 2: 282)

The Qurʾānic commandment to have a debt put into writing by a scribe is closely connected to the requirement to consult two witnesses to confirm an acknowledgement of debt once it is recorded in writing. For this reason, classical Islamic legal scholars do not accept the validity of written documents in legal procedures without the existence of two witnesses.[507] Immediately at the beginning of the chapter on sales (Kitāb al-buyūʿ) of his Kitāb aš-šurūṭ, the earliest extant legal work on contracts, the Ḥanafite faqīh (jurisconsult) aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) comments on Sūrah 2: 282 and writes[508]:

God, the Sublime and Almighty, decrees the recording of debts in writing... He then clarifies what He intends, (namely) why He intended what He had ordered about all this; he says: "In this way, God thinks, it is ensured that you act justly and [34] that your testimony is true, and (in this way it is) most likely that (later) you will not have doubts (about the testimony of the witnesses)" (2: 282). Thus, he lets them know that in written recording, there is support for the (oral) testimony (qiwām aš-šahādah), by which the creditor's funds (māl aṭ-ṭālib) are exactly determined and in which the debt of the debtor (dayn al-maṭlūb) is defined....

In other words: written documents are useful mnemonic aids which serve to remind the parties of the conditions and sums involved in their agreement. But in addition, they require oral testimony, which constitutes the actual proof.

For this point of view, which was later in principle unanimously held by schools of law,[509] the authorities uniformly adduce the following arguments:

1   One piece of writing resembles another piece of writing (so that they eas[ily] become confused; al-kitāb yušbihu l-kitāb).

2   A written document can be a mere draft or plan (al-kitābah qad yakūnu li-tagrībah).

3   The writing could have been manipulated and the seal could have be[en] tampered with (qad yuʿmalu ʿalā l-ḫātam wa-yuḥarrafu l-kitāb).

Therefore, a written document itself has to be confirmed by appropriate mea[ns,] that is, by oral testimony (lā yuṯbatu ʾillā bi-ḥuǧǧah).[510]

Even traditions about the compilation of the Qurʾānic text were influenced [by] this point of view. One report tells us that, during both the first and the seco[nd] collection, only those texts were accepted as genuinely Qurʾānic for which ▪ owner could provide two witnesses.[511] Similar considerations prompted the histo[...] rians al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823) and al-Madāʾinī (d. 228/843 or some years later) (a[...] Ibn Saʿd, d. 230/845, who quotes them) always to include a chain of witnes[ses] (an ʾisnād) as confirmation for every written document with ▪ religio-political [...] legal relevance quoted, especially the contracts the Prophet concluded with dif[fe-] rent tribes.[512] Originally, these documents were kept and passed on in the famil[...] to whom the contracts were granted.[513] Relatively rarely, ▪ informant states t[hat] he himself saw the document in question or refers to ▪ document in [35] possess[...] of ▪ specific family.[514] As a rule, the document is confirmed very much [...] ḥadīṯ is confirmed: with a chain of witnesses.

At the root of the idea that writing only has a contingent or restricted val[ue] there has to be a deep and categorical mistrust of writing and everything writ[ten.] Apparently, this mistrust was absent in the ǧāhilīyah (the period before Islam), but became apparent in the Qurʾān (namely in Sūrah 2: 282, as discussed abo[ve]) and was then advocated, sometimes almost aggressively, by later traditionists a[nd] legal scholars, philologists, and, finally, even by Christian Arab physicians.

It seems ▪ if writing can unambiguously and enduringly record the words o[f a] text. But can it really? Is it not true that writing is an easily manipulated to[...] Even if we can, by writing, unambiguously and enduringly record a text's wor[ds,] what do we lose by giving up in its favor the exchange of words between peop[le?] Is writing not something impersonal, dead? Is it not the case that the suppor[t it] offers restricts natural abilities?

Remarkably, Greek philosophy developed and elaborated the same idea. [The] articulation was projected to the time during which "reading" finally outstrip[ped] "hearing" in philosophy (but also in other subjects such as historiography). In his Phaedrus (Stephanus 275a–276a), Plato records the following dialog[ue] between Socrates (who famously did not write any books) and Phaedrus[518]:

SOCRATES: ...["quoting" the Egyptian King Thamus, who supposedly said] Theuth, the inventor of the alphabet:] For your invention [36] [sc. that...

the alphabet] will produce forgetfulness in the souls of those who have learned it, through lack of practice at using their memory,[519] as through reliance on writing they are reminded from outside by alien marks, not from inside, themselves by themselves; you have discovered an elixir not of memory but of reminding. To your students you give an appearance of wisdom, not the reality of it . . .

PHAEDRUS: . . . it seems to me to be as the Theban says about letters.

SOCRATES: So the man who thinks that he has left behind him ▪ science in writing, and in his turn the man who receives it from him in the belief that anything clear or certain will result from what is written down, would be full of simplicity . . . in thinking that written words were anything more than ▪ reminder to the man who knows the subject to which the things written relate.

PHAEDRUS: Quite right.

SOCRATES: Yes, Phaedrus, because I think writing has this strange feature, which makes it like painting. The offspring of painting stand there as if alive, but if you ask them something, they preserve a quite solemn silence. Similarly with written words: you might think that they spoke as if they had some thought in their heads, but if you ever ask them about any of the things they say out of a desire to learn, they point to just one thing, the same each time.[520] And when once it is written, every composition is trundled about everywhere in the same way, in the presence both those who know about the subject and those who have nothing at all to do with it,[521] and it does not know how to address those it should address and not those it should not. When it is ill-treated and unjustly abused, it always needs its father to help it, for it is incapable of defending or helping itself.[522]

PHAEDRUS: [37] You're quite right about that too.

SOCRATES: Well then, do we see another way of speaking . . . both how it comes into being and how much better and more capable it is from its birth? . . .

PHAEDRUS: You mean the living and animate speech of the man who knows, of which written speech would rightly be called a kind of phantom.[523]

Judaism offers ▪ further parallel to the early Islamic opposition to writing.[524] The other fundamental religious work of the Jews after and in addition to the Bible is the "oral teaching," the Talmud (including the Mišnah). Originally, it was only intended to be orally transmitted and not to be written down. It took centuries for the Talmud to assume its final form and to be disseminated in writing, during which there was considerable protest and polemic against its recording in writing. As in Judaism, Islam had, above all other books, a sacred book. Even its final written collection and publication was at first met by misgivings and resistance. But soon afterwards, the ('Uṯmanic) consonantal text was accepted ▪ the ultimate authority. The written dissemination of *Ḥadīt*, which emerged as the second, originally orally transmitted teaching alongside the scripture, the Qur'ān, met

with much fiercer criticism. Students who wanted to write down traditions were confronted with the rhetorical question, "Do you want to adopt it as copies of the Qur'ān?"[525] [38] As in Judaism, the desire to grant written form only to the word of God but not to the second teaching existing alongside "scripture" militated against its written recording.

For monotheistic scholars, Jewish ▪ well as Islamic, these concerns operated in addition to the general mistrust of writing discussed earlier. Finally, there was another factor at work in Islam: mistrust caused by the deficiencies of the Arabic script. It was put forward as an argument against purely written transmission in the second/seventh century by traditionists, and later also by philologists and others, even by Christian Arab physicians.[526] Incidentally, this is a very rational and valid argument, since the Arabic script can, like virtually no other script, be particularly ambiguous, especially if it is not carefully punctuated and vocalized, a frequent occurrence in practice.

Apparently, the period that witnessed the switch from orality to literacy in teaching was perceived as a critical time in each of the three cultures, the Greek, the Jewish, and the Islamic. As the older medium was eclipsed or its extinction seemed imminent, people became aware of the values lost with its demise.

As with the Greeks and in Judaism, writing, in practice, finally claimed victory in Islam, too. But in Islam in particular, scholars upheld the idea—or sustained the fiction—that writing should have an auxiliary function at most in the transmission of learning (and in establishing legally valid proof). Until the time in which literary books as we know them emerged, and even beyond that time,[527] the true transmission of knowledge remained oral, from person to person—at least in theory.

Addenda

P. 64

According to H. S. Nyberg,[528] the written *Avesta* (which was redacted by the Sasanids but never accepted by the priests who had orally transmitted the text over centuries with painstaking accuracy) existed solely in a few master copies which were deposited in the most important religious and political centers of the realm.

P. 70

For the—very frequently attested—efforts of various caliphs, princes, and governors to have the knowledge of the scholars put into writing, I have coined the term "court impulse"; and, most importantly, Schoeler (1996a, p. 46 ff).

In his recently published article *The Beginnings of Historical Writing by the Arabs: The Earliest Syrian Writers on the Arab Conquest*,[529] A. Elad has discussed my ideas and tried to identify the works which I label as "literature of the schools

for the schools" (apparently together with other early works) as "real books." He writes:

it can be argued that this type of composition... was fairly popular from quite early on... It seems that many quite early compositions from the end of the 1st through the middle and end of the 2nd centuries were, in fact, published works in the sense that they were well known among scholars, and not only among rulers. 530

Some of the examples he cites: the *Kitāb al-maṯālib al-ʿarab* (*Book of the Evil Deeds of the Arabs*), allegedly written by Ziyād ibn Abīhi (d. 53/673); ʿAbīd ibn Šaryah al-Ǧurhumī's >*Aḫbār* (*Reports*) of the ancient Arab and Persian kings (which, according to Ibn an-Nadīm, were written down at the behest of the caliph Muʿāwiyah!); the *Maġāzī* (*Prophetic Campaigns*) book of Abān ibn ʿUṯmān531, and several others. I do not share Elad's views: on the works in question, cf. now Schoeler (2002b, p. 58ff.). The fact that some scholars loaned their notes or lecture scripts to their students for copying552 (i.e. transmission by *munāwalah*) does not entail that these writings were "finally revised" and "fairly popular."

Pp. 71–72
We might have to abandon this piece of evidence for the deposition of master copies of non-religious (scientific) works. The *Fihrist* (*The Index* or *Catalogue*) tells us533: *fa-kāna kulla-mā ʿamila min-hā qabīlatun wa-aḫraǧa-hā >ilā >n-nās kataba mushafan wa-ǧaʿala-hū fī masǧid al-Kūfah*," "once he had finished and published one tribe [i.e. tribal *dīwān*] of them [sc. 80 tribal *dīwāns*], he wrote ▪ volume and deposited it at the mosque in Kūfah." In all probability, the term *mushaf* here denotes a Qurʾān copy which Abū ʿAmr aš-Šaybānī copied and deposited in the mosque out of gratitude to God who had allowed him to finish another work. (I owe this information to Prof. J. Hämeen-Anttila, Helsinki.)

P. 82, VI
For the question of whether a written document constitutes a proof, cf. now Johansen (1997).

P. 198 n. 483
Cf. now p. 43, *ad* p. 28 and *ad* p. 30.

4

ORAL POETRY THEORY AND ARABIC LITERATURE

Few theories have been as successful and influential and become as popular in American and European literary studies ▪ the "theory of oral-formulaic composition"534 developed by the American classicist M. Parry.535 Parry's536 starting point was a study of Homeric epithets.537 Together with the nouns they qualify, he identified them as [206] "formulae" and categorized Homeric style as "traditional" and "non-individual." Struck by the comparability of Homeric epics and the living traditions of Serbian and other orally transmitted heroic poetry, Parry later shifted his original distinction between "traditional" and "individual" poetic style in the direction of the opposition between "oral" and "literary" poetry.538 We can speak of a "theory of oral-formulaic composition" from the moment Parry claimed that the Homeric formulae betray not only a lack of individuality, but also reveal a tendency to economize, thus being characteristic of an oral and improvized presentation; henceforth, Homer became an "oral poet." Since the beginning of the 1950s, ▪ quick succession of studies applied Parry's theory to other epic (and later also non-epic) traditions.539 Common to all these works is that their authors take the formulaic character of a text or its absence to be the decisive criterion for its oral or written origin. One book out of the colossal wealth of material deserves to be mentioned: A. B. Lord's *The Singer of Tales*.540 [207] It is considered the standard work in the field of oral poetry research. Lord, a student and later the successor of Parry at Harvard, constantly defended, popularized and, in some respect, developed the "theory of oral-formulaic composition" after Parry's untimely death in 1935. In recognition of his role, the theory is now also called the "Parry/Lord theory."

Many of his students and successors revered Parry as ▪ revolutionary innovator, even a genius and a prophet. In reality, he was anything but a creator ex nihilo. In his highly readable introductory study to his father's collected articles, his son Adam Parry rightly observes:

It could fairly be said that each of the specific tenets which make up Parry's view of Homer had been held by some former scholar... Parry's achievement was to see the connection between these disparate contentions and observations.541

For the purpose of our own study, we are not directly interested in Parry's contribution to Homeric research. However, as Middle Eastern Studies specialists, we really ought to be familiar with the work of the Turcologist W. Radloff, who, in the words of K. von See, had already pronounced in the nineteenth century "everything which is relevant, interesting and usable for the study of oral folk epics."542 In his footnotes, Parry explicitly refers to Radloff on five occasions, often in the form of extensive quotations.

In the preface to *Der Dialect der Kara-Kirgisen* (*The Dialect of the Kara-Kirgiz*), the fifth volume of this *Proben der Volkslitteratur der nördlichen türkischen Stämme* (*Samples of the Folk Literature of the Northern Turkish Tribes*),543 in which he published his German translation of the Kirgiz *Manas* epic he had recorded from oral recitations, [208] Radloff gave a detailed account of, among other subjects, the singers, their "art of improvisation,"544 and the fact that they adjusted their songs545 to their respective audience. He observed that the singer "is unable to recite ■ song twice in exactly the same form"546 and that he "is able to sing for a day, a week or a month."547 His explanation: this is possible because the singer, when improvising, has a number of readymade formulae—which Radloff calls "recitation elements" and "image elements"—at his disposal548 and so on. Moreover, Radloff had already likened his Kirgiz singers to the Greek *aoidoi* and had, based on his *own* observations about the genesis of an epic poem, established the link with Homer.549

Radloff's findings as well as his suggestions on the subject of the "epic question"550 were taken up not only in the study of folk songs551 and in Slavic Studies,552 but also in Homeric research.553 They were apparently ignored by Arabists, even though it must have been tempting to examine the so-called Arabic folk epics554 in the light of Radloff's results.

Only in the 1970s did the study of Arabic literature become aware of the "oral theory"—in the guise of the Parry/Lord theory, not Radloff's ideas. Characteristically, the ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah*, a non-epic genre, was the first and main focus of scholarly attention [209] ■ a potentially "oral-formulaic" literary phenomenon, not the so-called folk epics.

M. Zwettler's *The Oral Tradition of Classical-Arabic Poetry*555 was not the first attempt to apply the theory to the ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* genre: it was preceded by J. Monroe's article entitled *Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry*.556 They both agree on the main points, but differ in a number of details; at one point in his book, Zwettler takes Monroe's views to task in detail.557

In the following discussion, we will focus mainly on Zwettler's study, but we will occasionally refer to some of Monroe's ideas. We will begin with ■ outline of the book's contents.

In the first chapter, *Oral Tradition and Traditional Texts. Questions of Applications* (pp. 3–39), the author gives an account of the Parry/Lord theory ■ far as it is relevant for his study. Following a number of scholars who developed and revised the theory, he proposes a number of modifications to make it applicable to pre- and early-Islamic poetry. He maintains that Lord's distinction between

poetry composed either orally or in writing is, in this form, as misleading as ■ discrimination between "oral performance-cum-composition" on the one hand ■ "oral performance from ■ 'memorized' text" on the other.558 Rather, features ■ oral composition technique are in evidence not only in poetry developed during oral recitation, but also in poetry composed in writing, as long as it was written for oral recitation.559 Furthermore, the situation is the same for poets improvizing during a recitation or professional reciters improvizing on the basis of a "fixed text," especially if the text in question had originally been intended for oral presentation: the formulaic and thematic structuring of the text as well as the changing and varying nature of its textual form are in both cases the same.560 According ■ Zwettler, the most important distinction we have to make is not between poetry composed orally or in writing, but between *heard* and *read* poetry.561

[210] In his second chapter, entitled *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry* (pp. 41–96), Zwettler examines whether the key features of oral poetry ■ generally accepted by advocates of the oral poetry theory can be found in the ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* (ode). They are first (and foremost), its strongly formulaic character; second, the scarcity of enjambment; and third, stereotypical themes.

To demonstrate its formulaic character, the author analyzes a *single poem*, namely Imru' al-Qays' *Muʿallaqah* (suspended ode) (meter: *ṭawīl*). He compares it to 5,000 verses in the *ṭawīl* meter by Imru' al-Qays himself and several other early poets.562 Closely following Parry and Lord,563 he detects formulae whe... duplicates of certain words, word groups, or verses of a poem, preferably in t... same metrical position, can be found at least once in the text stock he compares t... poem to.564 In addition to verbal formulae, he also takes "structural" or "synta... tic" formulae into account: these are word patterns made up from metrically a... grammatically equivalent morphemes which occur in the same metrical positi... (e.g. v. 40b of the *Muʿallaqah*:...*bayna dīrin wa-mišwalī*, "[a girl] between ... shift and ■ wrap [sc. in size]" and v. 67a:...*bayna ṭawrin wa-nagātin*, "[antel... pes] both bulls and does").565 The statistical analysis shows that different pa... of the poem display differences in the frequency of formulaic elements.566 F... most important result: ■ ■ whole, the *Muʿallaqah* displays ■ percentage of ver... formulae amounting to 38.9 percent. In its formulaic "density," it is thus rough... equivalent to the old French *Chanson de Roland*.567

Concerning the scarcity of enjambment, Zwettler observes that the ancient A... bic *qaṣīdah* (ode) resembles Homeric poetry in this respect down to the level ... details.568 Finally, he equates the stereotypical themes of oral epics (identical ... similar description of [211] recurring scenes such as Homeric assemblies) w... the recurrent images, motifs, and scenes of the ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* (ode).56...

In the third chapter, *The Classical ʿArabīya as the Language of an Oral Poe...* (pp. 97–188), the author explains the specific features and idiosyncrasies of t... *ʿarabīyah* (pure Arabic) when compared with spoken language (e.g. its retention ... archaisms and, most of all, its preservation of the *iʿrāb*, the desinential inflecti... in analogy with Parry's explanations of the peculiarities of the Homeric artific... language: like his formulae, the oral poet receives words and word forms from ...

predecessors. As long as they fit into the metrical scheme, these elements—which are often linguistically incompatible—do not cause any bother. As [a] result, we arrive at a fixed, almost immutable poetic language—both in Arabic and Homeric poetry.[570] The most prominent feature of this chapter, to which we shall not return, is the extensive critical remarks about older, more recent, and the latest literature on the issue of the ʿarabiyah (pure Arabic).

In his fourth chapter, *Variation and Attribution in the Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry* (pp. 189–234), Zwettler attempts to demonstrate that only the Parry/Lord theory can adequately explain the changeability and variability of ancient Arabic poetry (the transmission of *dīwāns* [poetic collections] in different recensions; the wealth of variants; and the changing number and arrangement of verses of one poem in different compilations).[571] According to the author, a *qaṣīdah* (ode) was recited differently in each recitation (of the poet or transmitter)—similar to the heroic epics studied by Parry and his successors.[572] Obviously, this means that we cannot reconstruct an original version or archetype with text critical methods. Rather, the different recensions represent equal versions.[573] Further, the large amount of variants is not the (deplorable) result of the deficiencies of a long period of oral transmission.[574] On the contrary, we are dealing with a poetry "that lives through variants and reworkings."[575] This does not exclude the occurrence of obvious slips of the pen, which of course [212] can also be found.[576] Zwettler explains the relative infrequency of variants in the ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* (ode) compared with oral epics of other peoples with factors such ■ the shortness of the poems, in the process of the transmission of which outright memorization played ■ recognized role.[577] Citing a passage from Ibn Rašīq's *al-ʿUmdah fī maḥāsin aš-šiʿr* (*The Fundament Concerning the Fine Points of Poetry*), he claims that a *qaṣīdah* (ode) had a more or less fixed core which the poet or transmitter kept in memory and on the basis of which he then improvized during individual recitations. The divergences in formulaic "density" he found in different passages of the *Muʿallaqah* (suspended ode) serves, for Zwettler, to confirm his hypothesis.[578]

The author is convinced that his new approach also allows him to solve the two problems of the controversial authorship of many verses and the authenticity of ■ great number of poems: since all oral poetry partakes of a shared pool of formulae, it is no surprise to find identical or similar verses and verse passages in different poems of the same or other poets.[579] On the subject of the authenticity of ancient Arabic poetry, Zwettler maintains that the poems of bedouin transmitters of the second/seventh to the fourth/tenth centuries, which are still steeped in bedouin traditions, are so similar to demonstrably "ancient" poems or those thought to be ancient that they could not be told apart or are even identical with them. Products of the compiler *rāwīs* (*rāwiyahs*, transmitters) on the other hand, which already belong to the written tradition, can easily be distinguished from this "ancient" poetry.[580]

I think that the idea that pre- and early-Islamic *qaṣīdah* (ode) poetry ■■ be understood with the tools of a (however modified or adapted) Parry/Lord theory

is altogether unfeasible. In what follows, I will attempt to show

1 that this idea, as well as analogous ideas conceived by other followers of Parry and Lord, who apply the "theory" to a diverse set of antique and medieval texts transmitted exclusively in writing, is based on false premises;

2 that this idea is based on a thoroughly flawed concept of ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* (ode) poetry;

3 that the abundance of variants—Zwettler ironically labels it the "corrupted" state of the traditional texts[581]—which supposedly only reveals its true significance in [213] the light of the "theory", is in fact not an exclusive feature of the ancient Arabic "oral" *qaṣīdah* (ode), but also occurs in early ʿAbbāsid poetry, which belongs to "written" culture.

My comments on the first point will be brief, since the issue has already been widely discussed.[582]

Even if the ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* (ode) were to display the three (supposed) characteristics of "oral poetry," we could not conclude that it is "oral poetry" in terms of the Parry/Lord theory. Both Zwettler and Monroe commit a logical error which we encounter again and again with proponents of the oral poetry theory: they reverse the statement they claim to be empirically proven, namely, that "all oral poetry is formulaic (displays scarcity of enjambment, and so on)," and maintain that "all formulaic (and so on) poetry is oral." Quite apart from the fact that the first claim is probably also wrong,[583] the second claim cannot be inferred from the first—"neither in logical nor in psychological terms." Formulaic character, lack or scarcity of enjambment, and stereotypical themes do not constitute proof for the proposition that a text transmitted only in writing was orally composed—let alone for its being "oral poetry" in terms of the Parry/Lord theory!

To cite ■ example with which Zwettler must also be familiar, for it is dealt with in an article to which he refers written by M. Curschmann.[584]: the *Elegy* of Walther von der Vogelweide ("Owe war sint verswunden alliu miniu jar! ...," "Alas, where have all my years gone?") displays a formulaic density hardly found in an Arabic *qaṣīdah*. In addition, it shows scarcity of enjambment much more pronounced than in the Homeric epics and other (true or supposed) "oral" epics. It also contains stereotypical themes. Still, it is neither an improvized nor a "traditional," orally transmitted poem, but a highly personal, planned, and elaborated creation of the poet, which belongs fully to written culture.[585]

[214] Further, it is incorrect that "written" poetical texts, "although perhaps initially set down in writing, are so structured with a view to oral rendition—i.e. so formulaic and additive in style" that they are "for all practical purposes, indistinguishable from 'orally composed' poetry."[586]: formulae in written poetry, which Parry/Lord and other exponents of the "theory" can only envisage in very small doses, although Zwettler explicitly allows for ■ higher statistical density under certain circumstances,[587] invariably differ from oral formulae in their function, often enough also in their *form*.[588] Whatever the function of such "written" formula[e]

it was certainly no longer to facilitate improvization for a singer.[589] In the ▪▪ of certain formulae, their written origin can be spotted almost immediately. To cite but one example Zwettler is also familiar with[590]: in the Middle High German epic *Orendel*, we find very long series of formulae spread over ▪ substantial number of verses, that are, while relatively far removed from each other, repeated *verbatim*. Such sequences of formulae *must* have been copied from each other![591]

In the process of transmission of pre- and early-Islamic poetry from the poets to those scholars [215] who were the first to undertake systematic collections and record them in writing, oral transmission undoubtedly played a prominent, but probably not an exclusive role.[592] For this reason, one might be inclined to call it "oral" or "traditional." Yet, we have to draw a sharp distinction between this form of oral poetry and other forms, especially those which correspond to the criteria of Parry/Lord. The differences in genre which Zwettler plays down (he must play them down in order to approximate ancient Arabic poetry and "oral epics")[593] have at least *one* implication we cannot under any circumstances ignore: only they can adequately explain why *qaṣīdahs* (odes) are almost without exception transmitted under the name of ▪ composer, while the epics are anonymous.

Let us take ▪ brief look at old Icelandic poetry. Since in a number of aspects, it resembles ancient Arabic poetry to a surprising degree, the two traditions have often been compared. Zwettler himself occasionally turns to it for comparative purposes.[594]

There ▪▪▪ two main poetical genres in old Icelandic poetry:

1   *Edda* poetry that consist of songs about gods and heroes and is predominantly epic;

2   *Skald* poetry that includes praise songs and lampoons, love songs, dirges, and also descriptions. It is thus similar in terms of its genres to ancient Arabic poetry.

Without exception, Edda poetry is transmitted anonymously, whereas Skald poetry is invariably connected with the name of a composer. K. von See, a specialist in Nordic Studies, explains this fact as follows[595]:

Skald poetry is an art form which intends to achieve an immediate effect—in the form of ▪ polemical, eulogistic or erotic poem—an art form in which "mastery" plays an important role. . . . And in all art forms which aim for effect, the guarantee of its effect depends on the mastery of its exponent. . . . Heroic poetry, on the other hand, is an epic genre. Its function is not to achieve an immediate effect; it does not praise, it does not vilify, it simply narrates . . . it is not . . . an "art" as it was understood at the time. [216] Therefore, its creators remained anonymous.

[. . .]

In Skald poetry, elements of magic are still alive; they become manifest in its strongly formal character—a regular feature of magical texts . . . texts

which are supposed to have magic or cultic effects are often emphatically not anonymous.

(As Arabists, we are reminded of the magical roots of ancient Arabic polemical poems famously studied by Goldziher,[596] which also invariably carry the name of a composer.)

If we consider that in the Arabic literary tradition too, an anonymously transmitted epic folk poetry arose (the *'Antar* epic; the tale of the *Banū Hilāl*, etc.)[597]—albeit only later—the parallels between Arabic and Icelandic poetry become even more striking.

Zwettler is particularly concerned with ▪ "presumed lack (!) of anonymity in the classical Arabic tradition."[598] In his explanation of this fact, he rightly stresses the special importance of the "social and cultural role" of the poet in pre-Islamic times and emphasizes the lack of similarity in social rank between them and medieval Frankish or Spanish singers[599]—he could also have included the Greek rhapsodes or modern Kirgiz and Yugoslav singers.

For a full and satisfactory answer to his question, Zwettler need only put more stress on the *kind* of poetry poets belonging to these different traditions produced: the different social positions of the poet—propagandist and tribal spokesman on the one hand, folk entertainer on the other—that caused a lack of anonymity in one tradition and its occurrence in the other(s) *depend* on the poetic genre involved. But Zwettler's approach excluded this possibility: he does not wish to allow for generic differences in "traditional," orally transmitted poetry. For him, there is only one, undifferentiated "heroic" poetry.[600]

Old Icelandic poetry teaches us that it was in fact the genre, not the poet's social position or the kind and composition of his audience, which is responsible for anonymity: [217] for its two main genres, the audience (the warrior nobility) and apparently at least some of the poets were identical; in the case of the *Atlakviða* of the *Edda*, scholars have suggested that the Skald poet Thórbjorn Hornklofi was its author.[601]

"In the archaic era . . . poetic works were initially created through improvisation."[602] We can accept this observation by R. Blachère without reservations. It was not only during the *ğāhilīyah* (period before Islam), but also in Umayyad and 'Abbāsid times that impromptu poetry existed; it is practised even today. The ability to improvize is in no way connected with a milieu or an era. Abū Nuwās (d. *c*.200/815) possessed the ability to an impressive extent: many of his wine and love poems as well as his polemical and satirical poems—but certainly not his long praise *qaṣīdahs* (odes)—are "genuinely improvized poems."[603] For often the redactors of the Abū Nuwās *dīwān* (collected poems), Hamzah al-Iṣfahāni (d. *c*.360/970) and aṣ-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946) as well as Abū Hiffān (d. *c*.255/869), author of the *Ahbār Abī Nuwās* (*The Reports Concerning Abū Nuwās*) and a personal acquaintance of the poet, report the circumstances under which this or that poem was produced. Frequently, they explicitly note that Abū Nuwās improvized certain verses, either spontaneously without prior thinking (*irtiğālan*) or after sho

reflection (*badīhan*).604 Another prominent example is al-Mutanabbī (d.354/965): he mastered both forms of improvization605 (and not, as Zwettler claims, only the second).606 Further, the ability to improvize was expected of Andalusian poets.607

[218] This form of improvization is, however, not the same as the improvization technique of folk singers described by Radloff, Parry, and Lord. In the first case, the poet is not prepared for the topic that the is given or that he spontaneously choses himself (as ■ consequence, particularly in earlier times, improvized poems were thematically much freer than non-improvized poems).608 In this situation, the poet is also hardly able to rely on prefabricated formulae; thus, he can in most cases only produce relatively short poems, *qitʿahs*. In the other case, the poet has been familiar with his material from the time of his training; he uses it again and again to compose his poetry and, with his pool of formulae, he is able to extend and shorten his compositions at will.609

In early ■ well as later times, the great classical Arabic *qaṣīdah* (ode) poems were not, or only in exceptional cases, were improvized. Rather, they were the result of ■ slow, systematic, and often laborious process.610 For this, we have both external and internal evidence. The testimony of Arabic literary critics and theorists is the most important source for external evidence. In his *Kitāb al-bayān wa-'t-tabyīn* (*The Book of Eloquence and Exposition*), al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 255/868–869) writes611:

Among the (desert) Arabs (*ʿarab*), there were poets who had *qaṣī-dahs* (odes) lying around for a whole year or for a long time, all the while looking at them again and again, turning them over in their mind and repeatedly changing their opinion about them.... And they used to call these *qaṣīdahs* "year-long" (*ḥawlīyāt*), "celebrated, everlasting" (*muqalladāt*), "trimmed" (*munaqqaḥāt*), "solidly composed" (*muḥkamāt*); at that time, those who had composed them became (through them) full masters (*fuḥl*) and expert poets (*šāʿir mufliq*)...

Al-Hutay'ah said: "The best poem is the year-long (*ḥawlī*), refined (*muḥakkak*)"....Everybody (operates) thus who improves his entire poe-try and lingers at every verse he composes and casts a scrutinising glance over it again and again, until he makes each verse of the *qaṣīdah* as good ■ the others.... Whoever earns a living from his poetry and covets the gifts of nobles and chiefs and the reward of kings and leaders in the *qaṣī-dahs* recited at state banquets (*qaṣāʾid as-simāṭayn*) and the long poems [219] recited on feast days, has no other choice but to work like Zuhayr and al-Hutay'ah and their ilk (who worked for a whole year ■ their poems).612

These reports about the "year-long" *qaṣīdahs* of Zuhayr and al-Hutay'ah mark the longest time the composition of a *qaṣīdah* could take according to ancient Arabic

convention. In another anecdote reported by al-Ǧāḥiẓ, we learn that some poet needed substantially less time.613

One poet told another: "I compose a *qaṣīdah* each hour, but you produce one (only) once a month. Why is that?" The other replied: "Because I don't receive [sc. poetic inspiration] from my *šayṭān* [demonic genius] as you do from yours."

Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) provides similar information, which he probably derived directly from al-Ǧāḥiẓ,614 However, he is our only source for the following two reports about improvization615:

A poet, aš-Šammāḥ (d. c.30/650), while on a journey spontaneously recited poem in the *raǧaz* meter. After six (half) verses, however, he had to stop because he could not find more rhymes (in -*āf*). He then changed the rhyme and came up with 14 half verses in the *raǧaz* meter (in -*āt* which is easier to rhyme). In another report, an improvized poem by al-Husayn ibn Mutayr (d. 170/786) is heaped with praise because, after short reflection (!), he was able to recite 15 verses in the *kām* meter to describe a torrential rain shower (on the easy rhyme -*āʾū*).

None of these poems are long, multi-part *qaṣīdahs* (odes). We only have very few reports about a poet improvising a *qaṣīdah*. One such case is the *Musallaqa* (suspended ode) by al-Hārit ibn Hillizah.616 But scholars have (in my opinion quite rightly) suggested that the report about the composition of the poem is fictitious.

Naturally, Zwettler knows the argument that the composition process of the *qaṣīdahs* of Zuhayr, among others, is said often to have taken an entire year.617 [220] He attempts to counter it by pointing out that "oral composition" (of Yugoslav singers, for example) could possibly also require some time for preparation and that this preparation period could vary between different traditions and poets—if the preparation time of a singer of heroic epics, which he can use to prepare mentally and concentrate on his task, but which is certainly not sufficient to compose his entire recitation, was not entirely different from the process of slowly and laboriously composing a poem and its repeated revision and touching up described in our sources for the ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* and, incidentally, for recent Bedouin poetry.619

We know of such methods of working also from other "primitive cultures. In his book *Primitive Song*,620 C. Maurice Bowra, incidentally one of the most prominent followers of the oral poetry theory (who, however, does not fall into the trap of applying it to all sorts of non-epic poetic genres), discusses the composition methods of Andaman singers:

The Andamanese are known to mature songs in their minds until they are ripe for performance at some suitable occasion, and though the songs are always very short, their preparation may take days while the singer decides what to include and what to exclude from a form.621

Similar practises are known of singers from Arnhem Land and the Inuit.622

Against the theory of Zwettler that "oral poetry" is, for all practical purposes, indistinguishable from poetry perhaps composed in writing, but intended to be recited orally, I would like to put forward a different idea: "oral poetry," composed in a slow, systematic, and often laborious process (as described above), might not be indistinguishable [221] from "written poetry," but they are at least comparable in so far as in both forms the poet can consider carefully both individual expressions as well as the structure of the poem as a whole—unlike the situation he is faced with when improvising poetry.

We will now discuss internal evidence for the fact that the qaṣīdah (ode) was almost never the result of impromptu composition. First, we have several meters with a complex set of rules instead of just one for "oral poets" (for impromptu composition, ancient Arabic poets in most cases use raǧaz, the simplest meter).623 Further, we have to remember the very strict rhyming rules that have to be maintained throughout the entire poem; imperfect rhymes are a relatively rare occurrence. On the other hand, poems that conform to the criteria of Parry/Lord or in which improvisation plays a role mostly dispense with rhymes or only operate with assonance. Where we do find rhymes, for example, in medieval German ballads, the rhyme schemata are frequently simple, the rhyme very often imperfect or missing ("orphans" instead of rhymed verses).624

Ancient Arab poets themselves provide us with even more compelling evidence: in their qaṣīdahs, they occasionally allude to their methods or even describe them. Famously, the Muʿallaqah (suspended ode) by ʿAntarah (d. c.600) (which both Zwettler and Monroe studiously ignore!) begins as follows625:

Have the poets left anything to be patched up . . .
hal ġādara ʾš-šuʿarāʾu min mutaraddamī . . .

The verse implies a modus operandi which is worlds apart from that of an "oral poet"; the author of the Muʿallaqah (suspended ode) feels restricted by a convention which requires him to clothe a given theme in a new, perhaps even original, form. Obviously, he is hard pressed to pour the "old wine" into "new skins."

The poet Suwayd ibn Kurāʿ gives the following description of the creative process that led to his poem626:

[222] I pass my nights at the gates of the verses (qawāfī, lit.: rhymes) as if minding there attentively (or pacifying; or imitating) a herd of wild animals, yearning for their customary pastures,
Watching over them until I weary just before—or a little after—daybreak—then I fall asleep.

[...]
When I fear that they will be transmitted to my discredit, I drive them back below my collar-bones, in dread lest they come to light.

Fear of Ibn ʿAffān627 compelled me to drive them back, so I straightened and polished them (fa-taqqaftu-hā) for a full year and well into the spring. And though I had in myself even more (verses) than those, I could see no other option than to obey and listen [i.e. to Ibn ʿAffān].

ʾabītu bi-ʾabwābi ʾl-qawāfī ka-ʾanna-mā/ʾuṣādī bi-hā sirban min-a ʾl-waḥši nuzzaʿā

ʾukāliʾu-hā ḥattā ʾuwarrisa burda mā / yakūnu suḥayran ʾaw buʿaydan fa-ʾahǧaʿā

[...]

ʾidā ḫiftu ʾan turwā ʿalayya radadtu-hā/warāʾa ʾt-tarāqī hašyatan ʾan tatallaʿā
wa-ǧaššama-nī ḫawfu ʾbni ʿAffāna radda-hā/fa-taqqaftu-hā ḥawlan ḥarīdan
wa-marbaʿā

wa-qad kāna fī nafsī ʾalay-hā ziyādatun/fa-lam ʾara ʾilā ʾan ʾuṭīʿa wa-ʾasmaʿā

With such a concept of poetry, the idea of literary property must have developed early on (according to Parry, the concept is not applicable to oral-formulaic poetry, since singers drew on a shared pool of material).628 Thus, Ḥassān ibn Ṯābit (d. 40/661 or later) can boast629:

I do not steal from the poets what they have said; rather, my poem does not fit with theirs.
lā ʾasriqu ʾš-šuʿarāʾa mā naṭaqū/bal lā yuwāfiqu šiʿra-hum šiʿrī

This verse has two implications: first, that plagiarism was already discussed and rejected in early times, and second, that at that time, plagiarism was a problem which occurred, was noticed, and vigorously denounced. This applies to an even higher degree to recent bedouin poetry: A. Musil reports that the Rwāla reprimand and even despise their poets for their plagiarisms. Thus, they have the proverb qaṣṣād kaddāb, the qaṣīdah poet is a liar.630

Even if it is true that later Arabic literary critics were interested more in the sariqāt (plagiarisms) of modern poets, they clearly did not, as Zwettler claims, almost (!) completely ignore the ancients.631 On the contrary, in his Qurāḍat aḏ-dahab fī naqd ʾašʿār al-ʿarab (Shavings of Gold in the Criticism of the Poems of the Arabs), Ibn Rašīq mentions them fairly frequently.632 In his al-Umdah fī maḥāsin aš-šiʿr (The Fundament Concerning the Fine Points of Poetry), quoting ʿAbd al-Karīm an-Nahšalī, he makes the following observation about one notorious case of ancient Arabic plagiarism, in which Ṭarafah copied verbatim an entire verse by Imruʾ al-Qays (except for its rhyme word)633: [223] "Some people are prepared to overlook everything except the (case of the) verses of Imruʾ al-Qays and Ṭarafah, since they only differ in their rhyme word." Put differently, it was regarded as the worst possible form of plagiarism to copy a verse almost completely. Even the mildest critics could not shut their eyes to it. Thus, it is not at all true that...

as Zwettler maintains, "medieval literary theorists who discussed the subject of plagiarism among poets seem to have disregarded almost (!) entirely (!) literal verbal recurrences as such."[634]

Incidentally, we are not dealing here with commonplace motifs or images nor motifs which, "at the onset, were indisputably created," but "so often reused that they would enter into everyone's speech."[635] As is generally known, such motifs were excluded from the discussion of plagiarism.[636]

For Zwettler, these cases always involve formulae which the two poets in question derived from a common pool. This brings us to the question of the formulaic nature of ancient Arabic poetry. On this issue, I would like to register my doubts about Zwettler's (and Monroe's) method of identifying a verbal formula. I am absolutely convinced that no randomly picked ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* (ode) displays the formulaic density which Zwettler established for Imru' al-Qays' *Muʿallaqah* (suspended ode). As we have seen above,[637] Zwettler identifies a verbal formula whenever in the pre- and early-Islamic tradition a certain word group recurs *once* (preferably in the same metrical position).

Now, as Zwettler himself acknowledges, quoting Arberry, the *Muʿallaqah* of Imru' al-Qays is "at once the most famous, the most admired and the most influential poem in the whole of Arabic literature."[638] [224] Therefore, when analyzing word groups occurring in the *Muʿallaqah* and recurring (in *later* poems) in an identical or similar form, we *also* have to allow for the possibility of an imitation, ■ "quotation," or a case of plagiarism—as in the Ṭarafah verse mentioned on p. 97—instead of a formula.

■ If we find but a *single* parallel in a later poem, *imitation* would be the most likely reason.

■ If we detect the same word group in a poem of a *contemporary* of the poet, we would have to exclude the possibility that the poems in question are not *referring to each other* in any way before identifying it as a formula. For example, Imru' al-Qays no. 4 (according to Ahlwardt's edition) has so many correspondences and similarities to ʿAlqamah no. 1[639] that they cannot have been purely accidental. Consequently, the ancient Arabs assumed that they were the result of ■ contest between the two poets.[640] Apart from this obvious case, ʿAlqamah and Imru' al-Qays display so many similarities[641] that we would be well advised not to attribute each and any correspondence immediately to the presence of formulae.

■ Whenever a word group or verse recurs in different poems of one and the ■■■ poet, it can in most cases be better explained as a conscious replication or ■■■■ form of revision than as a formula. Only if such an expression is frequently repeated should we consider the possibility that we are dealing here with ■ formula.

Zwettler establishes an above average formulaic density in the case of the first verse of Imru' al-Qays' *Muʿallaqah*.[642] Let us examine his method of searching

for and identifying formulae with the help of the first half of the verse in question:

qifā nabki min dikrā ḥabībin wa-manzili
Stop!, let us weep at the memory of a beloved and a stopping-place

Another poem in the *ṭawīl* meter by Imru' al-Qays also begins with the same half verse. Only the rhyme word differs: there, it is *wa-ṣirfānī* ("and the recognition [sc. of her abode]") instead of *wa-manzilī* ("and a stopping-place"). Therefore, Zwettler labels *qifā ... wa-* ("stop! ... and") as a verbal formula. However, [...] cannot offer any other occurrence of *qifā nabki* ("stop! let us weep"); the one wo[rd] *dikrā* ("memory") occurs once more in a *nasīb* (elegiac section) by ʿAntarah, *m[...]* *dikrā* ("at the memory of") in a *nasīb* (elegiac section) by al-Aʿšā, and *li-dikrā* ("on account of the memory of a beloved") in a dirge by Ḥassān ib[n] Ṯābit, but, as Zwettler himself notes, in a different metrical position. The alleg[ed] formulaic character of *manzilī* ("a stopping place") is even more problematic. Th[e] only parallel occurs in verse 76 of the *same* poem, where the word occupies th[e] rhyme position. [225] Yet, the recurrence of the same rhyme word in a poem wa[s] considered permissible after only seven verses! Furthermore, Zwettler lists th[e] following structural formulae; *manzilī* ("a stopping place"), since it correspon[ds] to its metrical (?) and syntactical equivalent *ʿirfānī* ("recognition") in the oth[er] Imru' al-Qays poem mentioned above; *ḥabībin* ("a beloved,") since ʿAntarah ha[s] *Suḫayyata* ("Suḫayyah", a woman's name), al-Aʿšā *Quṭaylata* ("Quṭaylah", ■ woman's name— question (mentioned above), al-Aʿšā *Quṭaylata* ("Quṭaylah", ■ woman's name as these names obviously have ■ very different metrical structure than *ḥabībin*, beloved," this cannot be correct).

Given what we have said above (on p. 98), I cannot see why a verse shoul[d] become a formula just because ■ poet repeats it once—and *only* once—in its entirety or in part. One reason for the occasional reappearance of individual words [or] small word groups in the same metrical position in later poems seems to me that [...] later poets were familiar with the Imru' al-Qays verse in question and were som[e]how responding to it. Even during the lifetime of the Prophet, Imru' al-Qays wa[s] regarded ■ the most famous of all ancient poets; and poets such ■ Labīd free[ly] acknowledged his superiority.[643] Considering the restricted and conventional the[...] mes treated in the *nasīb* (elegiac section) of a *qaṣīdah* (ode), such repetitions a[re] only to be expected. Finally, even according to Parry's (not at all stringent) crit[e]ria, the ʿAntarah quote—a single, two-syllablic word *dikrā* ("memory")—has ■ evidentiary value.[644]

The situation is somewhat different with the "structural formulae." In fact, w[e] find such phenomena fairly frequently in Arabic (and not only ancient Arabi[c] poems. In part, they can be explained—I agree with Zwettler on this point—b[y] the fact that, by means of the wording in question, poets unconsciously (or, a[s] I believe, often also consciously) completed a rhythmical or syntactical schem[...] they were familiar with. This, however, does not say anything about the form o[f]

the process of poetical creation that gave rise to these "structural formulae." Poets can vary patterns in the slow, systematic oral (or written) composition process ■ [226] composition—especially if their choice of words and motifs is severely restricted by conventions.645 Although Zwettler is still convinced that syntactical formulae "must be accorded an exceedingly strong corroborative value"646 in assessing the oral-formulaic character of poetry, Classicists have, at least since the publication of W. Minton's *The Fallacy of the Structural Formula*,647 known that the extended concept of formula according to Lord and others (a formula = a verbal formula + ■ structural formula) is not capable of demonstrating the oral character of a poem. Summing up the results of Minton's comparison between the diction of Homeric poetry and that of Apollonius of Rhodes, A. Heubeck observes that "'formulae' (as defined by Lord) can be found in equal measure in the products of Hellenistic poets and in Homer."648

One element in Imru' al-Qays' *Muʿallaqah* (suspended ode) which could actually be called formulaic is the beginning of the hunting scene (verse 53: *wa-qad ʾaġtadī wa-ʾṭ-ṭayru fī wukanāti-hā ...*, "and often I sallied forth while the birds were in their nests ..."). Still, the two parallels from ʿAlqamah and ʿAbīd ibn al-Abraṣ which Zwettler cites in addition to several quotations from Imru' al-Qays' own poems,649 are hardly enough to make his point. Yet, the expression develops into a formula at the latest in the Umayyad period with the emergence of the hunting poem as an autonomous genre. Poems composed by aš-Šamardal (fl. c.101/720) and later by Abū Nuwās [d. *c.*200/815] and Ibn al-Muʿtazz [d. 296/908]) very frequently begin with similar passages (*qad ʾaġtadī wa-ʾl-layhu fī muswaddati-hī*, "often I sallied forth while the night was still swathed in black"; *qad ʾaġtadī wa-ṣ-ṣubḥu fī muktamini-hī*, "often I sallied forth while the morning was wrapped [in its gown]," etc.)650 But all these poems are written in the *raǧaz* meter, not in *ṭawīl*; by simply dropping the *wa-* ("and") in front of *qad* ("often"), the greater part of the half verse in the *ṭawīl* meter can be altered into two feet of a verse in the *raǧaz* meter. This raises the question whether Parry's definition of a formula can be applied *in its original form* to the Arabic *qaṣīdah* genre. It was originally developed on the basis of two poetic traditions which use only *one meter each* (the Homeric hexameter and the 10-syllabic verse in Serbocroat epics); in those two cases, it had appeared reasonable to include metrical conditions. [227] In view of such stereotypical phrases such as *daʿ-hā*, *daʿ ḏā* ("leave her", "leave that"), and *faraḏarha* ("so leave her"),651 that frequently mark the transition between the *nasīb* (elegiac section) and the following theme in a *qaṣīdah* and which occurs in various different measures, I would answer the question in the negative.

Parry's definition of ■ formula652 and its applicability to ancient Arabic poetry can be considered from another angle. Obviously, a certain "essential idea" occurring in ancient Arabic poetry is not always necessarily expressed with the same word group. Rather, motifs which are at the root of certain formulae are only partly expressed by those formulae; they are also partly rendered with different expressions.653 Considering these facts, might it not be better to apply the rhetorical term *topos* as defined by E. Curtius? This term, which seems once ■■

to have attracted attention in recent rhetorical research654 in spite of or perhaps even because of its vagueness (Curtius defines it as a "fixed cliché or a schematic thought and expression"),655 would have one key advantage: it encompasses formulae ("fixed ... schematic ... expression"), but is not restricted to them. Thus our discussion on pages 99–100 has thrown considerable doubt on the supposed formulaic character of the first verse of Imru' al-Qays' *Muʿallaqah*, but it is probably beyond dispute that it is "topical"—according to Curtius's definition—since the schematic thought (an appeal to the two companions to halt), but not the schematic expression (*qifā nabki ...*, "Stop! let us weep"), appears in a large number of *qaṣīdahs* and is therefore "fixed" and "stereotypical."

On the basis of ■ quotation by Ibn Rašīq, Zwettler wants to confirm his theory that the verses introducing different thematic sections of the *Muʿallaqah* are more or less fixed. He infers that, as the "core verses" of the poem, they were recited more or less [228] from memory, whereas the intervening passages, which were more or less formulaic, were improvized.656 It is obvious, however, that he mistranslated and misinterpreted the passage; it does not prove anything.

In the chapter in question, Ibn Rašīq discusses short (*qiṭaʿ*; like the English "piece," it can also mean "fragment") and long poems (*ṭiwāl*). He reports657:

Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ was asked: "Was it the custom of the (desert) Arabs to compose long poems (*tuṭīlu*)?"—He replied: "Yes, so that people would hear from them (*li-yusmaʿa min-hā*, i.e. the Arabs)."—People asked again: "Did they also compose short poems (*tuġzu*; the root *q-ṣ-ṣ* does not occur here)?"—He answered: "Yes, so that people could keep something from them (*li-yuḥfaẓa ʿan-hā*, i.e. again the Arabs) in memory."—al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad said: "(Poetical) speech is long and copious, so that it can be understood; (on the other hand, it is) concise and condensed, so that it can be kept in memory; Prolixity is preferable for apologies, warnings, intimidations ..."

The passage wants to explain the occasions and purposes to which long or short poems are better suited. Both Arabic philologists claim that long poems, *qaṣīdahs* are to be preferred where many and beautiful words have greater effect; the poems should keep it short, on the other hand, if he wants people to remember his words.

It is therefore absolutely impossible to identify the "short" poems mentioned by Ibn Rašīq in the quotation with the fixed core elements of a *qaṣīdah* postulated by Zwettler—it is emphatically *not* the *qaṣīdah* Ibn Rašīq is talking about!—and to equate his "long" compositions with what Zwettler interprets as the improvized intervening verses.658

We now come to our last question (3): is the Parry/Lord theory our only way to understand adequately the profusion of variants in ancient Arabic poetry? Undoubtedly, pre- and early-Islamic poetry was subjected to frequent modifications on the long journey from its creators to its redactors. In addition, comparisons with the composition and transmission of recent bedouin poetry showed that the poets [229]

themselves often "published" different versions of their works. In his book *Arabia Petraea*, A. Musil reports[659]:

Often, such poems [sc. the *qaṣīdahs*] are long, and the poet almost never composes them all at once [compare the difference to the composition process in oral epics!] ... Frequently, the poet himself replaces individual words, even entire verses, with others he likes better, which, however, others do not know and often never accept. Thus, one hears different recensions not only of *qaṣīdahs* of a dead poet, but also of those of ■ living, even of a physically present poet. Even though they often differ substantially in length and sequence (!), the poet recognises all of them as his literary property. When such poems are recited around the camp fire, partisans of the different versions often argue about them, deny that this or that verse originated with the poet and attribute it to others instead.

Thus, the different recensions are *not* new and different improvizations (as is the case in oral epics), but new versions, revised and improved by the author, that, however, have not been able to supplant earlier versions already in circulation.

For earlier times, too, we can probably safely assume that different versions of ■ *qaṣīdah*, which often seem to us to be of equal quality, or variants of a verse could have originated with the poet of the *qaṣīdah* himself. We also know that ancient Arab poets frequently asked their transmitters (*rāwīs*) to review their poems and that, after the death of their masters, the latter revised or improved[660] details of their *qaṣīdahs*, that is, they revised words or passages they regarded as "unfinished" and which did not seem sufficiently "polished." Alongside these conscious interventions, there were of course—as Zwettler freely acknowledges[661]—mnemonic errors in the process of oral transmission. In addition, we also have to allow for occasional mistakes on the part of the redactors of the *dīwāns* (collected poems). Finally, in some cases, the medieval Arabic philologists themselves suspected forgeries.[662]

Before we proceed, let us correct one incorrect claim Zwettler makes about the *rāwīs* (transmitters) of the ancient Arabic *qaṣīdahs* (odes). [230] Zwettler's aim is to stress the similarities between the situation obtaining for singers of heroic epics and the Arabic poets. On the authority of Bräunlich,[663] he notes that the main task of the *rāwī* was not to preserve and spread his master's poems, but to prepare himself for his own future career as ■ poet (many transmitters in fact later became famous poets in their own right).[664] However, this claim is incorrect or only partly correct, because we know of many *rāwīs* who never produced a single verse of their own. In his book on al-Mutanabbī, the *qāḍī* (judge) ʿAlī al-Ǧurǧānī (d. 392/1002) remarks[665]:

ʿAbīd (ʿUbayd?) was al-Aʿšāʾs transmitter, but people never heard ■ complete (poetic) expression from him. Likewise, one never heard anything from Husayn, the transmitter of Ǧarīr, or that of al-Kumayt, Muhammad ibn Sahl, and Sāʾib, that of Kutayyir.[666]

Therefore, it remains the case that *all rāwīs* were *primarily* transmitters. On ■ some of them were at the same time apprentices of their master preparing for the own poetic career. This also invalidates the parallel with the "oral" epic poets, fi whom the function of poet and transmitter invariably coincided.

The factors listed above, namely the occurrence of divergent versions of a poe from the very beginning, corrections by transmitters as well as other phenomen described by Blachère[667], are sufficient adequately to explain the textual varie of the *qaṣīdahs*, their often uncertain ascription, and so on. To confirm this point we will now cross-check it against the transmission history of the *dīwān* of a early ʿAbbāsid poet, Abū Nuwās, [231] who was an exponent not of the oral, bi the written tradition.

It might come as a surprise for advocates of the oral poetry theory to learn tha the editor of the *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās had to contend with the very same problen which, according to their theory, only the editors of an ancient Arabic *dīwā* should have experienced[668]: many poems were attributed not only to Abū Nuwā but to other poets as well.[669] Furthermore, there are four different recensions c the *dīwān*—the most important are those of Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī (d. c.360/970) an as-Sūlī (d. 335/946)—with different opinions about the authenticity of man poems. Finally, there is hardly a poem which does not differ from recension t recension, manuscript to manuscript, and, if repeated by the same recensor, fron chapter to chapter, even from place to place.[670] Apart from slips of the pen, variant may result from misunderstandings, omissions, and additions of verses or who parts of a poem. They may consist in divergent arrangements of verses, and in diffe rent versions, though of equal quality, of one or more verses.[671] Very frequently, w find the same verse in different poems with the same meter and rhyme. The double occurs now in another poem by Abū Nuwās, now in a poem by another poet.[672]

[232] If there is ■ difference at all between the state of textual transmission c early ʿAbbāsid poetry and that of pre- and early-Islamic poetry, it is surely gradua but certainly not fundamental.

The reason is the fact that the transmission of early ʿAbbāsid poetry did no yet differ substantially from that of ancient Arabic poetry; poets such as Baššā (d. c.167/783–784), Abū ʾl-ʿAtāhiyah (d. 211/826), and Abū Nuwās (d. c. 200/815 did not yet compile and edit their *dīwāns* themselves; this became common prac tice only after c.392/1000. Rather, they continued to entrust them to their *rāwī* as did the ancient poets.[673] In the case of the Abū Nuwās *dīwān*, the text wa only brought into its final shape and put into writing some 150 years after th poet's death. Even though transmitters now used writing to ■ much higher degre than in earlier times, we are confronted with ■ similarly "corrupted" state of th texts.[674]

Therefore, we are left with two alternatives: we can either dilute the Parry/Lor concept of oral-formulaic poetry even further than Zwettler has already done an apply it also to early ʿAbbāsid poetry, which belongs to the written tradition. O we can decide to dispense with the concept of oral poetry altogether in the study of *both* early ʿAbbāsid and ancient Arabic poetry.

One point needs to be stressed: even though variants in different recensions of the same collection of poems often represent versions of equal quality which do not depend on each other, [233] it is also clear that in many cases, errors of transmitters or recensors—and not only those of copyists!—can be corrected by comparing them to the respective readings of other recensions. This applies in equal measure to ancient Arabic and early 'Abbāsid poetry.[675] To decide *what* to make of specific variants—whether to classify them ■ scribal errors, mistakes of a recensor, or equivalent readings—we have to analyze each individual case carefully. It is not possible to make such ■ decision in each and every case, but still, we are very often in a position to judge a variant.

Now, does the Parry/Lord theory give us criteria to distinguish between authentic and inauthentic ancient Arabic poetry?[676] Zwettler wants to distinguish between certain works by compilers who usurped the title of *rāwī* (*rāwiyahs*, e.g. Hammād [d. c.156/773], are probably meant), for they, in contrast to the bedouin transmitters, were not part of the living oral tradition. He believes that he can easily distinguish their products from authentic material.[677] This, however, does not seem to be the case; at least, it would have to be demonstrated first. Suffice it to say that after no less than 12 centuries of medieval Arabic and modern European and American philological activity, we are still unable to pass judgement on the authenticity of the *Lāmiyyāt al-ʿArab* (*The Ode of the Arabs Rhyming in [the Letter] Lām*) ascribed to aš-Šanfarah, one of the best and most famous (authentic or alleged) pre-Islamic *qaṣīdahs*.[678] The individual long suspected of having forged it, Halaf al-Ahmar (d. 180/769), was *not* even a bedouin, but a townsman and the son of a manumitted slave of non-Arabic, possibly Persian, extraction.[679] He was also accused of fabricating poems ascribed to Taʾabbaṭa Šarran and parts of the *dīwān* of Imruʾ al-Qays.[680]

I doubt that the advocates of the Parry/Lord theory can offer a convincing solution to this problem. Rather, it [234] seems to me that we have to leave the question open for now.

The theory of oral-formulaic composition cannot be applied to ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* poetry. There is, however, another genre of Arabic poetry it could probably be brought to bear on: the so-called folk epic (such as the *ʿAntar* epic).[681] Here, we have at least most of the features Radloff, Parry, and Lord have found in Kirgiz and Yugoslav "oral" epics, all of which we looked for in vain in the ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah*: the anonymity of the composers; identity of composers and reciters (*rāwī* [transmitter] or *muḥaddit* [narrator] *and šāʿir* [poet])[682]; improvized recitation which caused each performance to be a different version in its own right and the lack of a fixed text or "original"[683]; the reciters' use of formulae and stereotypical themes to facilitate improvization[684]; the heroic narrative material based ■ historical events, but poetically stylized and strongly laced with fictional elements; and the mostly uneducated audience drawn from the urban middle classes or the rural populace, and so on.[685]

[235] But even here, we have to exercise care in applying and adapting the "oral theory." Contrary to Serbocroat epics, its Arabic counterparts are not entirely

versified. Rather, the narrator alternates between prose (and rhymed prose) an[d] verse. This would call for ■ modification of Parry's definition of a formula.

Furthermore, even at ■ early stage of their development (and also later), th[e] written recording of Arabic folk epics seems to have played a substantial rol[e] alongside its oral performance. For example, the *Banū Hilāl* epic may have bee[n] written on the basis of a commission, only to fall into the hands of folk narrator[s] later on.[686] In fact, we probably owe the wealth of manuscripts of Arabic folk epic[s] (mostly from the eighteenth/nineteenth centuries) in our libraries to the fact tha[t] the narrators needed aides-memoire.[687] In the case of Arabic folk epics, we inde[ed] have to do with something akin to "improvizations on texts recorded in writing (the Arabic folk narrators therefore resemble the Greek rhapsodes rather than th[e] *aoidoi*). However, already in the nineteenth century, one [236] group of Caire[ne] narrators, the *ʿanātirah*,[688] read their material out instead of freely reciting it.[689]

Different from this hybrid (oral/written) type that is more at home in towns an[d] cities than villages is ■ second type, ■ Ahmad Rušdī Ṣāliḥ discovered for th[e] *Banū Hilāl* epic: a purely oral form which is still alive in the rural populatio[n]. Its main characteristics are that its plot shows similarities to recent local histor[y] (the uprising of ʿUrābī Paša 1881–1882) and that its heroes, while retaining thei[r] original names, display characteristics of politicians of this era.[690]

This type, however, which in many respects resembles the Kirgiz and Yugosla[v] "oral" epic, is *not* the original type; rather, it developed out of the urban-writte[n] form.

Thus, in this case, the relation between "writing and oral tradition" has to b[e] seen differently and in a less negative light than Lord's assessment of the Yugosla[v] epics in particular and "the (oral) epic" as a genre in general.[691]

Addenda

P. 87

Since the 1980s, we observe ■ marked decrease in interest in American and Euro[-]pean literary criticism in the theory of oral poetry, especially its "general tendenc[y] to try to force all oral performances into the theoretical parameters of the Parry/Lo[rd] theory."[692] P. Heath notes:

Because they [sc. the researchers] usually based these attempts on written works whose orality was not an established fact, and since these works were often ancient or medieval texts which ... formed insufficient data for large-scale analysis, these attempts at theoretical refinement have usually resulted in producing more confusion rather than less.

Since the end of the 1980s, there evolved a broad consensus also in Arabic Studie[s] that attempts by Zwettler and Monroe to apply the Parry/Lord theory to the ancien[t] Arabic *qaṣīdah* genre have failed.[693]

Criticism in works that discuss Zwettler's and Monroe's ideas and which appeared at the same time or later than the article above has mainly focused ■ two issues:

1 Criticisms of the concept of *formula* (cf. pp. 98–101),[694] J. Mattock observes that of the poems that go under the name of Imru' al-Qays, ■ great number of lines or parts of lines, short phrases and themes are not unique but recur in several poems. Lines that have parallels elsewhere in his *Dīwān* (*Collected poems*) are especially frequent in his *Muʿallaqah* (suspended ode). The wording of these parallel lines is identical or almost identical. Still, Mattock feels that for the most part, these repetitions are not frequent enough to be explained as formulaic. He also points out the agreements between Imru' al-Qays, Ṭarafah, and Zuhayr, of whom the last two, he believes, have consciously borrowed from Imru' al-Qays.[695]

A. Bloch also shows that most of the recurring word groups Zwettler identifies as formulae according to the Parry/Lord theory do not qualify as such. Rather, they are often quotations, imitations, conscious repetitions, etc.[696] In addition, Bloch lists sayings, *gnomoi*, and recurring sentences[697] as well as "a certain typical phraseology which reoccurs in due course and which was employed by different poets independently of each other."[698] For each of these phenomena, he quotes numerous examples. Bloch marshals the following argument to prove that these for the most part are *not* formulae according to Parry, designed to facilitate improvization: if they served this function, they would in each instance have to occur in the *same* metrical position and in the *same* words. However, on the basis of a variety of examples, Bloch demonstrates that the recurring word groups very often *change their position in the verses* and *vary in their wording.*[698]

Two examples are provided here[699];

● In a hunting scene, Imru' al-Qays[700] gives the following description (meter: *ṭawīl*):

fa-laʿyan bi-laʿyin mā ḥamalnā gulāmana ʿalā zahri maḥbūki 's-sarāti muḥannabī

And only with great effort did we lift our equerry on to [a horse] with ■ tightly-knit back-bone, and beautifully curved haunches [or ankles]

In a verse by Zuhayr,[701] we find the same word group (*fa-laʿyan . . .*) in the description of the same scene, also in *ṭawīl*. Al-Aʿšā, however, the *mutaqārib* meter and introduces slight changes[702]:

fa-laʿyan bi-laʿyin ḥamalnā 'l-ġulāma kaṭhan fa-'arsala-hū fa-'mtahan

And only with great effort did we lift the equerry [on the horse], against [its] will, and he then let it slip and worked [it] hard

● The (metonymic) word group

nahdu 'l-marākili, "one with strong flanks" (i.e. a horse)

It would be absurd to claim that this is a formula. Rather, in the ver[se] of Zuhayr and al-Aʿšā, we find conscious *borrowings*. In all likeliho[od] these poets chose the same (or almost the same) word group explicitly refer back to the expression of Imru' al-Qays and Zuhayr, respectiv[ely] (highlighted quotations or allusions).

occurs at the beginning of ■ verse in the *kāmil* meter by the pre-Isla[mic] poet al-Aʿšar al-Ǧuʿfī,[703] We find it also in *kāmil*, but in a differ[ent] position in ■ verse by ʿAntarah.[704] Ǧarīr[705] has it in the *basīṭ* met[er]. Finally, the same word group, expressed as a *ṣifah* (attribute) (*naha... marākiluh*), recurs in Zuhayr[706] (in the *ṭawīl* meter) and al-Ḥansā'[707] the *basīṭ* meter). In these cases, we probably have to do with a "typi[cal] phraseology which reoccurs in due course and which was employed [by] different poets independently of each other."

Bloch cites the ease with which the Arabic language can be made to fit po[etic] meters as the reason for the frequent occurrence of identical word gro[ups] in different meters. This phenomenon in turn is, according to Bloch, due [to] the ideal harmony between language and poetic meter in Arabic. "All t[he] means, however, that formulae *to facilitate the fitting of language into po[etic] meters were unnecessary* in old Arabic—unlike ancient Greek, where [the] dactylic hexameter in particular presented numerous challenges to the sylla[bic] structure of the language."[708]

In his article entitled *Formel und Zitat*, Th. Bauer presents ■ prec[ise] definition of the term "formula" and distinguishes it sharply from the te[rm] "quotation." He writes:

A formula is a quantity of textual elements E_{1-n} resembling each other which are employed by several text producers P_{1-n} in various literary texts T_{1-n} with the aim of calling the attention of the recipients to the other occurrences of E_{1-n}.[709]

Since formulae can occur in different meters, they most certainly do not se[rve] the purpose of facilitation improvization. Examples for real formulae, on [the] other hand, are the following beginnings of *qaṣīdahs*: *li-man idalun* (... whom belong the traces"; in either the *ṭawīl* or *wāfir* or *mutaqārib* mete[r], *li-man-i 'd-dāru* ("to whom belongs the abode"; in the *ḥafīf* or *ramal* mete[r] and *li-man-i 'd-diyāru* ("to whom belong the abodes"; always in the *kā[mil* meter).[710]

2   Criticism of the fact that Zwettler (and also Monroe), like many other exponents of the Parry/Lord theory, completely ignored the generic distinctions of oral poetry and tried to impose an inapplicable model on the ancient Arabic *qasīdah* genre. In particular, the authors in question were taken to task for either not considering or passing over important characteristics of the still living tradition of *nabaṭī* poetry (on this term see the addendum to page 101). This poetry is the direct descendant of ancient Arabic tribal poetry—and it demonstrably does *not* conform to the Parry/Lord model.[711]

In one of the first reviews of Zwettler's book, the reviewer A. Schippers observed that he "over-emphasizes the universal applicability of the Parry-Lord-theory."[712] Invoking R. Finnegan's *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context*,[713] Schippers refers to the "diversity between the different traditions of oral poetry." The same point was also made in the review by H. Kilpatrick.[714]

The most important contribution, however, was made by S. A. Sowayan. Following, among others, the lead of A. Socin[715] and A. Musil,[716] in 1985 he published his research into *nabaṭī* poetry, based on fieldwork in the area.[717] His findings confirm, complement, and extend the observations made on the basis of Musil's results.[718] Sowayan explicitly discusses the ideas of Zwettler and Monroe (1972), refutes them[719] and observes: "the orality of this poetic tradition is distinctly different from that of the oral epics . . . described by Albert Lord."[720] Among other points, he maintains that

- ▪ some [sc. *nabaṭī* poets] are literate and others, the vast majority, ▪▪ illiterate[721];
- ▪ each *nabaṭī* poem has an original version by an original composer . . . ; hence, the emphasis is on memorization of the poem word by word[722];
- ▪ an illiterate poet, just like a literate poet composing with pen in hand, will compose his poem slowly with a great deal of reflection and deliberation[723];
- ● whether literate or illiterate, a *nabaṭī* poet will polish his composition and review it several times[724];
- ▪ *nabaṭī* poet makes an enormous effort even to compose a relatively short poem[725];
- ● the processes of composition and transmission are two independent activities, one preceding the other, just as in written literary transmission[726];
- ● oral and written composition and transmission coexist and overlap[727];
- ● a *nabaṭī* poem might originate as a written text and become popular later, circulating orally and becoming the subject of variations so ▪▪▪ to the oral mode of transmission[728];
- ▪ slow and deliberate composition prior to delivery is characteristic of oral traditions of various cultures[729];

- ● the poet may write down his poem and send it with a courier[730];
- ● the most important function of formulae is not generative but stylistic

In his magisterial four volume work *Oral Poetry and Narratives from Central Arabia*,[732] in which he has collected, translated, and analyzed the poetry of numerous contemporary tribal poets, P. M. Kurpershoek—advisedly—does not discuss the Parry/Lord theory and its possible (or better: impossible) application to *nabaṭī* poetry.

Additional relevant literature on contemporary Arabic poetry can be found in bibliographies of Sowayan (1985) and Kurpershoek (1994–2002).

P. 96
Ad-Dindān,[733] a recently deceased bedouin poet, describes a similar experience as Suwayd ibn Kurā'.[734]:

1 Last night I stayed awake, unable to sleep . . .
2 because of talk spread by that fool, Gabbāni . . .
5 My verses I carefully mold in eloquent language:
One given to poetry cannot possibly abandon his art.
6 When others hum the tune, I strike up the merry melody,
When they ulutate the song, I keep the rhyme going

P. 97
On indigenous Arab critics and their discussion of the relation between recurring word groups and literary ownership, cf. S. A. Bonebakker's article *Sariqa* Formula. The author notes:[735]

Many early poets and critics were concerned with the question of literary ownership; they recognized that there were deliberate borrowings, both such as may be termed quotations (and as such permissible) and others which the poet may have practised while hoping that they would pass unnoticed.

P. 98
On the issue of Imru' al-Qays and 'Alqamah, cf. J. E. Montgomery's '*Alqama al-Faḥl's Contest with Imru' al-Qays.* The author maintains that "the attribution ▪▪▪ poem to 'Alqama and one poem to Imru' al-Qays is dubious. Rather, 'Alqam and Imru' al-Qays' poems should be treated as oral versions of the same poem."

P. 101f.
This still living tradition of Arabic bedouin poetry is nowadays called *nab* (*aš-šiʿr an-nabaṭī*). On this subject, cf. the remarks by Sowayan discussed abo

P. 104
A large number of books in Arabic and several European languages have b devoted to Arabic folk epics. Examples are M. C. Lyons' three volume w entitled *The Arabian Epic. Heroic and Oral Story-Telling*[737] and P. Heath's su

of relevant research, *A Critical Review of Modern Scholarship on Sīrat 'Antar ibn Shaddād and the popular Sīra*.[738] For additional literature, cf. the article *Sīra Sha'biyya* in *EI*², vol. 9, p. 664 f.

My contention that the Parry/Lord theory can probably be applied to Arabic folk epics (*siyar*, sg. *sīrah*; e.g. *Sīrat 'Antar*, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, etc.), but only after modifying its criteria and definitions, has been fully confirmed; cf. Heath (1988). The author demonstrates that a particular, frequently recurring description, namely that of ▪ lion, is indeed an example for "oral-formulaic style as described by Lord and Parry".[739] Since the description in question is not expressed in verse but in rhyming prose, Heath calls for "further development and clarification" of the Parry/Lord theory and a broader definition of formulae: "There is not a one-to-one correlation of phrase to idea here; rather the work uses different recurrent phrases to express a single idea." He also observes: "*Sīrat 'Antar* constantly relies ▪▪▪ different sets of recurrent word groups to express single ideas."[740] On account of its rhyming prose, "the more stringent requirements of verse form and meter are absent" and "the phenomenon of enjambment is not a significant factor in the *Sīra* style."[741]

In addition to Heath, B. Connelly[742] and D. F. Reynolds[743] maintain that it is both possible and makes sense to apply the Parry/Lord theory to Arabic folk epics.

On the issue of oral or written transmission of the Arabian Nights, cf. R. Irwin, *The Arabian Nights: A Companion*.[744]

P. 206, n. 686

5

ORAL TORAH AND *ḤADĪṮ*

Transmission, prohibition of writing, redaction

I

In 1918, J. Horovitz made the following claim:[745]

Ḥadīṯ and Qur'ān relate to each other as oral and written doctrine do in Judaism.

This apparently obvious analogy was not, however, generally recognized in the field of Islamic studies at the time of Horovitz; I. Goldziher had mentioned it in his fundamental treatise *Ueber die Entwickelung des Hadīth* (*On the Development of Hadīṯ*) only to dismiss it resolutely as "misguided" and "wrong."[746] [214] In this context, Goldziher had maintained that the evidence collected by A. Sprenger, the early written recording of *Hadīṯ*[747] militated against the idea that early generations of Islamic scholars wanted to restrict the application of written recording to the Qur'ān alone and have *Hadīṯ* accompany it as oral teaching only. Incidentally, Sprenger[748] and in his wake Goldziher, were already aware that the written *hadīṯ* material their studies pointed to did not consist of "books in a literary sense," but of "scripts, ... perhaps notebooks, collections of individual sayings ... for private use."[749]

Nevertheless, Goldziher had to acknowledge that ▪ large number of tradi-tionists objected to the act of writing down *hadīṯs*. According to Goldziher, this "aversion against writing" was not the predominant view from the beginning, but rather "the result of prejudices conceived at a later stage."[750] It marked the beginning of a longlasting discussion among *Hadīṯ* scholars about whether tradi-tions should be retained in memory alone and transmitted orally or whether they could be put into writing without reservation. However, Goldziher twice expli-citly classified the debate as purely "theoretical" and maintained that it had no bearing on the "generally accepted practice" of writing down *hadīṯs*.[751] Thus, did not allow that, after an early period which permitted the unreserved writ-recording of *Hadīṯ*, theological considerations and religious scruples emerg- resulting in a widespread rejection of writing and bringing the written re- ding of *Hadīṯ* material to an end. (This is the position expressed in a standa...

work, which set out to dispose of one "myth," that of ■ long period of oral *Ḥadīṯ* transmission, only to introduce another "myth" by misrepresenting Goldziher's account.)752

Now, Goldziher's rejection of the analogy quoted above rested ■ his notion that Jewish oral doctrine, that is, the contents of the Talmud (Mišnah and Gemarah) and the accompanying [215] Midraš works753—which are today, like the written doctrine (consisting of the Pentateuch or Bible), available in written (i.e. printed) form—were in fact originally transmitted through the centuries in an exclusively oral tradition. Today, we know that this was not the case: we have plenty of evidence for the use of written records.754 There never was ■ formally decreed, generally recognized prohibition against writing down oral doctrine. Admittedly, however, "frequently," strong opposition against writing down ... arose ... especially against writing down Halakōt (rules of religious law)."755

This opposition was directed not so much against the act of writing down itself, but rather against "written recording for the purpose of *public use*".756 In this context, S. Lieberman availed himself of the Hellenistic categories of *ekdosis*, or *syngramma* (an authorized edition or an actual book) and *hypomnēma* (written notes for private use) for his comparison.757 Only the Bible was a *syngramma*: incidentally, it was supposed only to be read out from the written page and not recited from memory in the synagogue. Oral doctrine on the other hand—as far ■ it had been put into writing—was for a long time available only in the form of *hypomnēmata*. These were not allowed to be used in the synagogue and public debates. At all events, oral doctrine was taught and transmitted without any written texts during the entire Amoraean (Talmudic) period (c.200–500 CE).758

The facts listed above should be sufficient to provide further evidence for Horovitz's analogy which Goldziher had so emphatically rejected.759

Let us now return to the methods employed in the transmission of "oral doctrine" in Judaism and Islam. In what follows, we will see that, on closer inspection, not only do we find exact parallels in individual aspects; [216] it will furthermore become clear that many results of the research into the transmission methods of the oral Torah can be fruitfully applied to ■ analysis of corresponding aspects of the transmission of *Ḥadīṯ*.760 Obviously, we find divergent aspects and developments as well as parallels.

First of all, we want to show that the "oral" mode of transmission (as we know, the term "oral" has to be taken with a pinch of salt) of Talmud and *Ḥadīṯ* gave rise to similar problems, engendered similar phenomena, and brought about similar topoi. Thus, we find discussions on both sides as to whether the *blind* can serve as reliable transmitters. A possible reason for disqualifying them as completely suitable would of course be their inability to verify their knowledge through consulting written records.761

On both sides, students made notes during lessons. Jewish students used writing tablets or notebooks in codex form (hebr. *pinaqsiyōt* from Greek *pinakes*) and so-called secret (private) scrolls (*meḡillōt seṯārīm*). These served ■ "memory

books" (*siḡrē zikkārōn*).762 On the Islamic side, we ■ not only find writ tablets (*ʾalwāḥ, sabbūrāt*) from which writing could easily be erased,763 ■ also notebooks (*karārīs*, sg. *kurrāsah*). The use of such notebooks was oc sionally criticized on the grounds that they resembled copies of the Qur (*maṣāḥif*).764 Since they were not supposed to be recordings for eternity,765 so scholars required their students to delete their notes after memorizing them. Many traditionists made provisions in their will for their written records ■ destroyed—burned or buried—after their death.767 Even opponents of writt records, however, did not object to the so-called *ʾaṭrāf* ("extremities" or "tip written notes recording only the beginning and end of ■ *ḥadīṯ*.768 Due to the sc city and sometimes unavailability of writing material, Jewish and Islamic stude occasionally had to make their notes on walls,769 Furthermore, Islamic sourc report [217] that sometimes sandals and the palms of hands were used for t purpose.770

Nevertheless, here and there, large numbers of permanent *hypomnēmata* m have been produced. On both sides, the quantity of written records produced o certain scriptural passage or traced back to a certain transmitter was expressed a highly exaggerated manner) in terms of camel loads. According to a certain N Zuṭrah, 400 camels were loaded with haggadic interpretations of I Chronic 8: 37 f.–9: 43 f.771 In comparison, the *single* camel load of "books" by ʾA Allāh ibn al-ʿAbbās (d. 68/687 or slightly later) deposited with Mūsā ibn ʿUq (d. 141/758) appears positively modest.772

Because the words spoken by a teacher were not supposed to be written down for public use, listeners were enjoined to transmit each sentence they had heard in the name of the narrator. ... If possible, they were also asked to provide earlier authorities who had uttered the sentence: if you can trace a chain of transmitters back to Moses, then do it.773

According to Horovitz, this practice of the Jewish schools in the Talmu (Amoraean) era is to be viewed as the model for the Islamic *ʾisnād*.774

We cannot rule out this possibility. Thanks to Juynboll's study of the Isla *ʾisnād*,775 we now know that the use of *ʾisnāds* probably emerged during second Islamic civil war (61–73/680–692). At this time, there would have b enough Jewish converts familiar with the system of authentication employe the Talmud (which by that time had definitely been redacted in written form) could have introduced it into Islamic transmission. It is more likely, however, what we have here is a parallel development in both cultures. Confronted w the non-existence or unrecognized authority of written sources in a commun the only possible course of action for a transmitter would be to authenticate "support" (*ʾasnada > ʾisnād*) his material whose origin is to be demonstrated mentioning an oral source, that is, his authority.

As Goldziher correctly pointed out,776 the opposition against the written re ding of traditions developed into a lengthy, but largely theoretical, debate betw

objectors and supporters of written records. It had, however, no impact ▪ the practice of recording in writing which became firmly established. Apparently, and conversely, no such debate ever arose on the Jewish side. One element entirely missing from the picture there is sayings *defending* the written recording of oral law. Thus, the prohibition against putting the oral Torah in writing has never been formally revoked.[777] [218] Therefore, the dating of the definitive written redaction of the Mišnah and Talmud is purely speculative and remains a matter of debate for modern Jewish and Christian scholars ▪ much as for their medieval counterparts. In the case of the Mišnah, the fundamental text of Jewish oral law, the possible chronological frame reaches from (at the earliest) 200 CE to (at the latest) c.500 CE, a period of about 300 years.

The discussion centers on the question whether the early collections or redactions of the Mišnah by Rabbi 'Aqibah (c.100 CE) and especially Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi (d. c.200 CE) took written form or not. According to Lieberman,[778] Rabbi 'Aqibah compiled the new Mišnah on the basis of his students' *hypomnēmata*. Its "publication," however, took place in an exclusively oral form: special transmitters (the so-called *tannaim*) recited the texts memorized in the schools. In cases of doubt about a passage, the *tannaim* could be consulted. Thus, the new Mišnah would have been published in numerous "copies" in the form of living books. Lieberman maintains that Rabbi Yehudah followed the same procedure for his "new edition" of the Mišnah.[779]

According to a different account advocated by the author of the article "Mishna" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*,[780] Rabbi Yehudah himself in his old age put the Mišnah into writing without, however, completely revoking the prohibition against writing down Halakōt. Oral teaching methods persisted insofar as the written Mišnah merely served as a guide for oral recitation.

Therefore, even though they were very probably produced with the help of written records,[781] early collections of the Mišnah were *not* written "publications." This probably only emerged with the final redaction of the Talmud (possibly around 500 CE or later; the exact date is disputed).[782] Ultimately, the taught material had grown to such proportions that publication in "book form" could no longer be delayed.[783]

We encounter a similar problem in the development of *Hadīṯ*. Here, our question is whether the earliest, "preclassical" *musannaf* works (collections arranged thematically into chapters), the oldest of which appeared in the middle of the second/eighth century, thus a hundred years before the canonical collections (the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s [*The Sound (Collection)*] of al-Buḫārī and Muslim) already existed in writing or not. The following discussion will focus on this issue.

[219] One of the scholars credited in the *'awā'il* literature (works concerned with the first persons to have done something) with the honor of being among the earliest *musannif* (compilers of *musannaf* collections) is the Basrian traditionist and theologian Sa'īd ibn Abī 'Arūbah (d. 156/773).[784] In the Basrah of his day (and later), as in the rest of 'Iraq, scholars attached particular value to the oral "publication" of traditions. This means that the majority of Basrian scholars

recited *hadīṯs from memory* (instead of reading them out). Written records do exist, but their public use was avoided. Of Sa'īd ibn Abī 'Arūbah we learn the following: *lam yakun la-hū kitāb, 'inna-mā kāna yaḥfazu*, "he did not have a book but used his memory."[785] This is not a mere topos; we hear the exact opposite about other Basrian scholars such as Hammām ibn Yaḥyā (d. 163/780 or 164/781) who occasionally had to have a look into his book.[786] Did Sa'īd actually know by heart the entire *Musannaf* (*Systematically Arranged [Collection]*) by heart and in no other form? This is highly unlikely, given the fact that such *musannaf* collections were quite substantial compilations, as the oldest extant texts—by 'Abd ar-Razzāq in Hammām (d. 211/827) and Ibn Abī Šaybah (d. 235/849)—show. We can even demonstrate that this was not the case: Sa'īd ibn Abī 'Arūbah is reported to have had his own scribe by the name of 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Aṭā', who accompanied him everywhere and wrote his books.[787]

For a long time, it was frowned upon in Basrah for scholars to use the *hypomnēmata* in public and to display them ▪ proof for their transmission. Another early compiler of a *musannaf* work, the Basrian Ma'mar ibn Rāšid (d. 154/770), settled for a time in San'ā', and got used there to "caring for his books and consulting them"; in Yemen, recitation from memory was not especially valued. During his sojourns to his hometown Basrah, however, he felt impelled to transmit from memory.[788]

Similarly, the renowned Basrian *hadīṯ* expert Yaḥyā 'bn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 197/812–813) allegedly recited from memory,[789] but read out longer *hadīṯs* from the "books" of his students.[790]

Also in Kūfah, the other 'Iraqi center (as well ▪ in Medina), the transmission of traditions via memory was deemed desirable. The first Kūfan author of a *musannaf* work, Yaḥyā 'bn Zakariyā' ibn Abī Zā'idah (d. 182/798), is reported to have transmitted from memory,[791] as did Wakī' ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ (d. 197/812),[792] [220] who modeled his own *Musannaf* on Yaḥyā 'bn Zakariyā' ibn Abī Zā'idah's work.

At the beginning of several chapters of his monumental work, the Kūfan Ibn Abī Šaybah (d. 235/849), one of the earliest *musannifūn* whose compilation has survived, writes: "This is what I know *by heart* from the Prophet."[793] This peculiar phrasing only serves to show that, even at a time in which their records had grown to manuscripts comprising many volumes, certain compilers still felt compelled to present their written material in the guise of *hypomnēmata*.

The abiding 'Iraqi reservation against the public consultation of *hypomnēmata* by traditionists led the authors of *'awā'il* works (works concerned with the first persons to have done something) explicitly to identify those scholars who for the first time publicly presented their "books" as confirmation of ▪ tradition they recited: the Basrian Rawḥ ibn 'Ubādah (d. 205/820) and the Kūfan Abū Usāmah (Hammād ibn Usāmah) (d. 201/817).[794] Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah (d. 198/813–814) on the other hand, confronted with the demand "Hand over your books" allegedly retorted: "I keep things much safer [in my memory] than ▪ books!"[795]

With the replacement of the provincial centers Baṣrah and Kūfah by the new center of Ḥadīṯ studies and the sciences, the caliphal capital Baġdād, the method of ḥadīṯ recitation from memory was gradually abandoned. Of the most important traditionists in Baġdād in the first half of the third/ninth century, 'Alī 'bn al-Madīnī (d. 234/849), Yaḥyā 'bn Ma'īn (d. 233/847), and Aḥmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855), only the first—incidentally ■ native of Baṣrah—still practised it. Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, on the other hand, did not think too highly of it. He said that he preferred the ḥadīṯ of 'Abd ar-Razzāq 'an (from) Ma'mar ibn Rāšid, who in Yemen diligently consulted his written records (cf. p. 115), by far to the ḥadīṯ of those Baṣrians (who made mistakes by overly relying on their memory).[796] Traditions which Ma'mar disseminated in Baṣrah, however, are said to have contained mistakes (because there he recited from memory).[797]

As the compiler of the *Musnad* (*The [Collection] Organized According to the Last Transmitter before the Prophet*), ■ multivolume ḥadīṯ collection, Aḥmad ibn Hanbal was generally very conscious of the importance of writing for his field. When one of his students remarked that "if the knowledge [sc. the tradition] had not been written down, it would have disappeared!" Ibn Hanbal replied: "Indeed. And without the written recording of traditions, what would we (traditionists) be?"[798]

Yaḥyā 'bn Ma'īn's biographers approvingly observe that he wrote and left behind numerous "books."[799] **[221]** He is in fact regarded as the traditionist who wrote down the most ḥadīṯ in his time.[800]

Thus, the requirement to recite traditions from memory as a matter of principle was abandoned in Baġdād as it had been abandoned earlier in scholarly centers outside 'Irāq. This development was only natural: the material in question had grown to such proportions that it was virtually impossible to deal with it by memory alone, even if it was spread over a series of lectures at regular intervals—at least not if one wanted to prevent mistakes.

II

So far, we have sidestepped what might be the most interesting question: *why* did Jewish and Islamic scholars insist for such ■ long time—at least in theory—on the transmission of knowledge by memory? The answer leads us back to the starting point of our discussion.

It is an established fact that, for centuries, Judaism held that only the Bible was defined as "Scripture," supplemented by the Mišnah or Talmud as oral teaching. Numerous ḥadīṯs—Prophetic as well as Companion and Successor traditions—attest to a parallel viewpoint in Islam: they prohibit *taqyīd al-'ilm*, the "shackling of knowledge," that is, the fixing of traditions in writing.

A few examples of such ḥadīṯs should suffice to illustrate this point. In ■ very well-known, relevant tradition, Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥudrī (d. 74/693) reports the following statement of the Prophet: "Do not write down anything on my authority except the Qur'ān; if someone has written down anything on my authority apart from Qur'ān, let him erase it!"[801]

In ■ equally well-known Prophetic ḥadīṯ reported on the authority of Ab[ū] Hurayrah (d. 58/678), we find: "Do you desire ■ book other than the Book of Go[d]? The peoples before you were led into error by those very books which they wro[te] in addition to the Book of God."[802]

Remarkably, this ḥadīṯ alludes to the oral teaching of Judaism, which in th[e] meantime had been put into writing.

In reaction to a request to dictate material, the Prophet's companion Abū Sa['īd] al-Ḥudrī (d. 74/693) is said to have replied:

Do you want to adopt it as copies of the Qur'ān? Your Prophet used to instruct us orally (*kāna yuḥadditu-nā*); therefore fix in your memory what you have on our authority, as we have fixed in our memory what we have on the authority of your Prophet.[803]

[222] The Successors 'Ubaydah ibn 'Amr as-Salmānī and Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd an-Naḫa'ī are both reported to have told a student who wrote down what they recited *lā tuḫlidanna 'an-nī kitāban*, "Do not keep for eternity what has been written do[wn] on my authority."[804]

In contrast to this group of traditions, there is a second group which explicit[ly] allows writing down material. Naturally, this concession at first referred to not[e-] serving as aides-mémoire. Occasionally, this can be inferred from a traditio[n] wording.

Again on the authority of Abū Hurayrah (d. 58/678), we learn in anoth[er] well-known tradition that the Prophet gave the following advice to ■ man who co[m]-plained about his deficient memory: "Aid your memory with your right hand!"[8..] In addition, al-Hasan ibn 'Alī, the grandson of the Prophet, is said to have sug-gested to his children and nephews: "Learn the knowledge; but any of you n[ot] capable of transmitting it (from memory) should write it down and keep it (saf[e]) in his house."[806]

These and other traditions of this group, however, should not distract us fro[m] the fact that the refusal of written recording expressed in the other group refe[rs] explicitly to *hypomnēmata*, too, because these were supposed to be erased [or] destroyed once they had been produced.[807]

Why, then, according to this view, should it be that it is only the Qur'ān tha[t] was written down, whereas traditions should only be memorized and passed o[n] orally? Why was there to be no second written doctrine in addition to the Qur'ā[n]?

For the most part, previous attempts at explanation have kept very close to th[e] text of the traditions: they were formulated on the basis of an interpretation of the contents. This is, understandably, especially true of the attempts of early Musli[m] scholars. To explain the aversion to writing down traditions, they most frequent[ly] adduced the following reasons:

1. The fear that a second book, similar to the Qur'ān, could emerge or th[e] written ḥadīṯ could get mixed up with the text of the Qur'ān (especiall[y]

while the revelation was still in progress; this gave rise to corresponding Prophetic traditions).808 Thus, the tradition portrays 3 of the 5 collectors or redactors of the Qurʾānic text, Zayd ibn Ṯābit (d. 42/662–663 or ▮▮ years later; Medina), ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652–653 or later; Kūfah) and Abū Mūsā al-Ašʿarī (d. *c.*42/662; Baṣrah), ▮ staunch opponents of the written recording of their own traditions and dicta.809

2 [223] The fear that people could be distracted from the Qurʾān by the written *Hadīṯ*. Jews and Christians had committed the sacrilege of abiding by books other than the revelation alone; and it was imperative to prevent the same fateful error.810

3 The fear that people would rely overmuch on the written word, which was transient, at the expense of properly memorizing those words they need to take to heart.811

4 Finally, the fear that traditions could fall into the wrong hands, those of the unauthorized (ʿilā ġayr ʾahli-hī).812 This apprehension could be the reason why several traditionists instructed their heirs to destroy their records after their death (cf. p. 113).813

Later *Hadīṯ* critics (Ibn Qutaybah, al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, and Ibn Ḥaǧar), for whom the written recording and codification of traditions was ▮ established fact, tried to harmonize *hadīṯ*s rejecting writing with those advocating it. Thus, for example, the latter group of traditions is said to have originated at a different time than the former (e.g. during periods in which revelation did not take place) or ascribed to a later stage.814 By assuming that *hadīṯ*s which viewed writing in ▮ positive light emerged *after* those which rejected it, the apparent contradiction can be solved by positing that an earlier *sunnah* (exemplary custom) was abrogated by a later one.815 But it could also be argued that the writing was permitted to certain people familiar with writing such as ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ816 while excluding others less competent at writing.817 A further strategy for harmonization consisted of maintaining that the prohibition of writing was restricted to those people who, it was feared, were in danger of relying overmuch on written material and that writing was permitted to those who could be expected to be immune to this danger.818 Finally, we find the argument that the early traditionists (Ibn ʿAbbās, aš-Šaʿbī, az-Zuhrī, Qatādah, etc.) were pure Arabs and, as such, were endowed with ▮ excellent memory. The mnemonic powers of later traditionists were supposedly less well-developed, and this, together with the expansion of relevant material, made it imperative to have recourse to writing. Without writing, much of the tradition would have been lost.819

Let us now return to the discussion of arguments put forward against the written recording of *Hadīṯ*. Explanations of several modern Egyptian scholars, who have in general adhered to the arguments devised by their medieval predecessors, have been listed by Juynboll.820 [224] Explanations put forward by Abbott821 and Sezgin822 also tend in the same direction.

Goldziher made many attempts to understand the phenomenon. In his late article *Kämpfe um die Stellung des Hadīṯ im Islam* (*Contests over the Place of the Hadīṯ in Islam*),823 he stays close to the sources. One of the motives he quote for the rejection of writing is the concern felt by some pious believers that the might—unintentionally but still through their own fault—alter the original wor ding of ▮ tradition,824 another the widespread opposition particularly against thos *hadīṯ*s which seemed to assume similar authority to that of the Qurʾān itself.82 As a third reason, he identifies the "aspect of tendency" (the suppressing of tra ditions inimical to one's point of view).826 Goldziher was very well aware82 that all of these arguments also refer to the *oral* dissemination of the *hadīṯ*s i question, but still claims that they apply to an even larger degree to their *writte recording.*

In his *Muhammadan Studies*, he attempts to explain the phenomenon at ▮ greate distance from the sources and claims that, in the free development of the law, th old legal *raʾy* (personal opinion) schools did not want to be encumbered by to many *leges scriptae* (written, codified legal materials).828 In fact, we find a interestingly large number of *fuqahāʾ* (jurisconsults) and *quḍāt* (judges) amon the ranks of the early opponents of ▮ written tradition (and *raʾy*, personal [lega opinion).829 Thus, if we do not generalize too much, Goldziher's observatio seems not to be unfounded. On the other hand, ▮ well as opponents, we als find advocates of the writing down of traditions among the *ʾahl ar-raʾy* (those i favor of personal [legal] opinion), especially from the middle of the second/eight century on.830 But in later times, we must reckon more and more with the fac that scholars transmitted *Hadīṯ* not simply to support their own position, bu by diligently collecting and transmitting as much relevant material as possible irrespective of their own opinion, they also disseminated traditions contradictin their stance and also each other.

The following discussion will pose the question anew. We do not want to sup plant, but to supplement earlier explanations. The main argument we will advanc is inspired on the one hand by Goldziher's "aspect of tendency," which occasio nally comes to the fore in connection with the aversion to written *hadīṯ*, and on th other by the solution scholars of Judaism have arrived at for their field in answe to the ▮▮▮ question.

[225] In general, we find five different explanatory approaches in the field o Jewish Studies.831 They appear, however, to be purely conjectural in the majorit of cases, for it has apparently scarcely been possible to adduce direct evidenc whether of a textual or another sort. Some of the ideas *less* frequently put forward are:

1 The prohibition of writing was meant to "restrict the study of the laws to th limited circle of worthy and competent scholars."
2 The prohibition of writing "had a mystic reason, as the feeling predominate that there should only be *one* written Torah."

3 "It was ■ precaution against heretical interpolations or against the smuggling of whole treatises of ■ similarly questionable nature into the academies."

4 The reason for the prohibition of writing was "the unreliability of the written word, which is considered to be ■ treacherous and deceitful medium."832

However, the theory most frequently put forward in Jewish Studies is as follows:

As we have seen, the first two arguments were posited in this or a similar form by Islamic scholars rejecting the use of writing.833 The last item is the main argument adduced by Islamic scholars for the necessity of "heard" or "audited transmission," ar-riwāyah al-masmūʿah, and the dismissal of "transmission by writing alone," mostly called kitāb(ah).834 Apparently, there is no parallel for the third point ■■ the list.

5 According to the original intentions of the teachers of the law, oral doctrine should not be unified, definitive, and final. The prohibition of writing it down was meant to retain a certain flexibility: the opportunity to modify, accommodate, and, if necessary, to change, indeed even to abrogate certain rules.835

There can be no doubt that the Islamic reservation against writing was often motivated by the same point of view, even if—unsurprisingly—it was not often made explicit. Yet, we do have some evidence which clearly points in this direction.

1 [226] According to a report by Ibn Šihāb az-Zuhrī (d. 124/742),836 the caliph ʿUmar (r. 13–23/634–644) at one point considered having the Sunan ("customs," i.e. the acts and sayings of the Prophet) put into writing. However, after thinking his plan over for a while, he abandoned it.837 After this episode, we encounter ʿUmar portrayed ■ an inveterate opponent not only of the written, but also of the oral dissemination of Ḥadīṯ. Thus, he is said to have banned the dissemination of ■ saying of the Prophet confirmed by numerous Companions, because this would have restricted his freedom of action in a certain matter.838 His extreme position condemning both the written and oral preservation and transmission of traditions was not recognized by the wider community. This form of "scripturalism" (Cook) was later held up by some extremists (a few Muʿtazilites and Ḫāriǧites).839 But the majority of scholars soon adopted a position between both extremes, according to which Ḥadīṯ was to serve as "oral doctrine," accompanying the Qurʾān, the "written doctrine."

2 The Companion ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd,840 also frequently referred to ■ ■■ opponent of writing down traditions, is reported once to have been told by his

son that he had recited a ḥadīṯ differently on an earlier occasion. Question... ■ to how he came to make such a claim, his son answered: "I wrote it dow... (then)." Ibn Masʿūd ordered him to produce his notebook: the ḥadīṯ in questio... had to be deleted immediately.841

3 ʿAmr ibn Dīnār (d. 126/743), a Meccan legal scholar, did not tolerate h... students writing down his traditions or his own legal opinions (raʾy). F... allegedly said: "I might have changed my mind [sc. about my raʾy] even t... tomorrow."842

4 In this context, we should also quote a statement ascribed to al-Awzā... (d. 157/774), founder of a maḏhab (legal school). He is reported once ... have said:

This science [sc. Ḥadīṯ] was (once) a noble matter, when people still received it (in lessons) and memorised it with each other. But when it entered the books, it lost its shine (ḏahaba nūru-hā) and [227] reached people to whom it does not belong (ʾilā ġayr-ʾahli-hī).843

The metaphor "shine," which illustrates a feature of uncodified Ḥadīṯ, does n... necessarily point to its flexibility and changeability, but it alludes to somethin... very similar: its immediate, lively, and spontaneous character. This is exact... the difference between oral instruction from teacher to student on the ■ han... and learning from books on the other. In our quotation, the fact of its fin... demise is clearly ■ matter of regret.844 Al-Awzāʿī's second argument ("ji... reached people to whom it did not belong") expresses another consideratio... voiced in Jewish Studies in answer to our question: "It [sc. the prohibition ... writing] was intended to restrict the study of the laws to the limited circle ... worthy and competent scholars."845

III

According to tradition, the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar II (r. 99–101/717–720) ordere... the first official collection (tadwīn) of the Ḥadīṯ, "fearing the disappearance ... tradition and the extinction of its carriers."846 Before him, other Umayyads had als... occasionally made arrangements for the collection and writing down of tradition... Marwān I (r. 64–65/684–685)847 and especially the father of ʿUmar II, ʿAbd ... ʿAzīz ibn Marwān (d. 86/705).848

After the death of ʿUmar I, the situation had changed fundamentally: only a fe... or no Prophetic Companions were still alive to disseminate ḥadīṯ embarrassin... for the ruling family. On the contrary, the Umayyads could only benefit fro... undertaking an official edition of Ḥadīṯ material under their aegis. With the piou... ʿUmar II, it could in fact have been the case that the religious motives traditio... credits him with were central.

If tradition can be relied on in this matter, 'Umar II could have played the role for *Ḥadīṯ* which his predecessor 'Uṯmān (r. 23–35/644–665) had played in the case of the Qur'ān.

The first scholar allegedly entrusted with this task by 'Umar II was Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥazm (d. 120/737).[849] But the Medinese scholar Ibn Šihāb [228] az-Zuhrī was said to have been the first to execute and finish the project: "The first to have collected and written down the knowledge [i.e. the tradition] (on ■ grand scale) is Ibn Šihāb (*ʾawwal man dawwara ʾl-ʿilm wa-kataba-hū ʾbn Šihāb*)."[850]

This individual, who had ■ decisive influence on the written dissemination of traditions (cf. immediately below), seems to have entertained scruples about it throughout his life. This can be gathered from ■ number of dicta transmitted by or about him. The most important and most frequently quoted of the relevant statements of az-Zuhrī is the following:

We had an aversion to writing down the knowledge [i.e. the tradition] until these rulers compelled us to do it. Now, we are of the opinion that we should not prohibit any Muslim from doing it [sc. writing down traditions] (*kunnā nakrahu kitāb al-ʿilm ḥattā ʾakraha-nā ʿalay-hi hāʾulāʾi ʾl-umarāʾ fa-raʾaynā ʾallā namnaʿa-hū ʾaḥadan min al-muslimīn*).[851]

FIRST EXCURSUS: *kariha ʾl-kitāb(ah)*, "he had an aversion to writing"

It is *absolutely* certain that the translation proposed above is correct, unlike that suggested by Sezgin[852]: "We had an aversion to transmitting *ḥadīṯ* by way of *kitāb* [i.e. by merely copying texts ... without reading them out to a teacher or hearing them from him]." Admittedly, *kitāb(ah)* can, in some contexts, denote the unauthorized transmission method of copying written material, for example, in the following quote:

When ('Amr ibn Šuʿayb) transmits from his father's grandfather via his father, then this is just transmission through "books" (or notebooks; *kitāb*) and therefore weak (*ʾiḏā ḥaddaṯa [ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb] ʿan ʾabī-hi ʿan ǧaddi-hī fa-huwa kitāb wa-min hunā ǧīʾa ḍaʿfu-hū*).[853]

But that cannot be the case in the phrase *kariha ʾl-kitāb*. Here are four examples confirming that this holds true for the totality of occurrences of the phrase:

Ismāʿīl (ibn ʿUlayyah) said: "People had an aversion to writing (*karihū ʾl-kitāb*), because those who came before them [sc. the *ʾahl al-kitāb*] adhered to and admired their books; and their aversion consisted in the fact that through them [sc. the books], they could be distracted from the Qur'ān."[854]

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said: "I have an aversion to writing down [sc. *ḥadīṯs*] from someone who was compliant [sc. with the authorities] during the *miḥnah*" (*ʾakrahu ʾl-kitābah ʿamman ʾaǧāba fī ʾl-miḥnah*).[855]

('Alqamah ibn Waqqāṣ) [229] said: "Do you not know that writing is disapproved (*ʾanna ʾl-kitāb yukrahu*)?" He [sc. Masrūq] replied: "I do, but I only want to memorise them [sc. the traditions], then I will burn them."[856]

Ibrāhīm (an-Naḫaʿī) ... had an aversion to writing *ḥadīṯs* down in notebooks (*kāna yakrahu ʾan yaktuba ʾl-ḥadīṯ fī ʾl-karārīs*).[857]

In each of these four cases, it would not make any sense to translate *kitāb(ah)* as "the transmission method of copying alone." This also applies to chapter headings such as *Bāb ḏikr karāhiyat kitāb(at) al-ʿilm wa-taḫfīfi-hī fī ʾ-ṣ-ṣuḥuf* ("The chapter mentioning the aversion to writing down knowledge and perpetuating it in notebooks")[858] and *Bāb mā ǧāʾa fī karāhiyat kitāb(at) al-ʿilm* ("The chapter concerning what has come [down to us] concerning the aversion to the writing down of knowledge"),[859] because these chapters are devoted to traditions against writing, not against the transmission method of *kitāb*.

SECOND EXCURSUS: was there a *ḥadīṯ* collection by az-Zuhrī, compiled at the Umayyads' behest?

Goldziher believed that the entire body of reports concerning 'Umar II's efforts to codify the *Ḥadīṯ* should be dismissed ■ ahistorical. He claimed that a "veneratin posterity" sought to "construe ■ close relation between the pious caliph and the literature of Islamic tradition."[860] The tradition quoted above (on p. 122) ("these rulers" does not necessarily have to mean 'Umar II), however, probably contain ■ authentic core; in any case, it is comparably old: az-Zuhrī's student Maʿma ibn Rāšid (d. 154/770) already quotes it verbatim in his extant *Kitāb al-ǧāmiʿ* (*The Collection*).[861] It is highly unlikely for Maʿmar to have invented the tradition— say, to justify his activities as ■ muṣannif (systematic compiler)—because in th chapter entitled *Bāb kitāb al-ʿilm* (*The Chapter on the Writing Down of Knowledge*) he lists, very much like later *muṣannifūn*, traditions for (three items) and against (four items) writing.[862] On the other hand, we cannot exclude that the obviou anti-Umayyad slant of the dictum ("these rulers *forced* us") is rooted in Maʿmar own biased position vis-à-vis the Umayyads. The decisive fact that az-Zuhrī himself. Th decisive fact that az-Zuhrī, commissioned by the Umayyads, was the first to codif traditions in writing (*tadwīn*) on a large scale, however, remains unaffected by thi detail. Since the tradition presupposes that this fact was universally known, th fact itself is not suspect.

[230] Even while az-Zuhrī had no compunctions about recording ■ large number of *hadīts* for his private use,[864] he must have regarded carrying out the caliphal commission as breaking a taboo which rested on the decades-old consensus which restricted an official edition exclusively to the "Book," the Qur'ān, and to the exclusion of the "oral teaching," the *Hadīt*. He could even have disseminated the abovementioned tradition (p. 120) according to which 'Umar I abandoned his plan for a redaction of traditions, in the hope of dissuading his patron from implementing that very plan.

After the collection's completion, 'Umar II is said to have asked az-Zuhrī to make a number of copies of it in the form of notebooks. These were then to be distributed severally, so the story goes, to each province of the state.[865] The historicity of this report, which has obviously been modelled on 'Utmān's similar procedure following the conclusion of the redaction of the Qur'ān, is highly dubious. It is in fact more likely that az-Zuhrī's collection was only undertaken or at least finished after the death of 'Umar II (cf. immediately below).

Az-Zuhrī himself also made "public" his collected material, while working as tutor of the princes under the caliph Hišām (r. 105–125/724–743). Like his written edition of the tradition, these activities also gnawed at his conscience. He is alleged to have said later:

The rulers had me write (it) down [sc. the tradition] (*istaktaba-nī*). Then, I made them [sc. the princes] write it down (*fa-aktabtu-hum*). Now that they have written it [sc. the tradition] down, I am ashamed before God not to write it down for others.[866]

At all events, writing down traditions, even for public use, could not henceforth be considered prohibited any more in az-Zuhrī's circles and probably in Syria in general. One student reports: "We did not seek to write down from az-Zuhrī until Hišām compelled him (to). He then wrote down (*hadīts*) for his [sc. Hišām's] sons. And now, people (in general) write down the *Hadīt*"[867] : But the pressure applied to him by the authorities was not the only argument az-Zuhrī used to justify what must have seemed unheard of even to himself, namely the official written edition and dissemination of the *Hadīt*. He is said to have also given the following reason: "Had it not been for the *hadīts* coming to us from the East, which we do not recognise and reject, I would not have written down *Hadīt* and would not have permitted others to do so."[868]

His statement illustrates the antagonism between East [231] and West, that is, between 'Irāq and Syria, which will be our focus in the next section.

IV

If even az-Zuhrī, supporter and friend of the Umayyads, at first resisted the idea of an official redaction of *Hadīt*, how much more virulent must opposition

against it have been outside Syria, seat of Umayyad power, especially in anti-Umayyad 'Irāq. However, we do not appear to find any direct, explicit attacks on it. Resistance seems to have taken a more indirect approach. Two methods can be distinguished.

The first one was that a growing number of *hadīts* against the written recording of traditions was put into circulation. A preliminary discussion of the issues might have occurred in the first century AH, but on the basis of an analysis of the *isnāds* of the relevant traditions according to the method of Schacht and Juynboll, which aims to identify the most recent *common* transmitter (common link, CL) who disseminated (but in my opinion not necessarily invented) the *hadīt* in question, we can clearly demonstrate that the debate came into full swing only around the turn of the first to the second century AH (i.e. *c.*720, the year of 'Umar II's death) and lasted for several decades. In addition, we can show that the majority (but not all) of the most recent *common* transmitters who took a *negative* stance towards writing hailed largely, though not exclusively, from Basrah, Kūfah, and Medina. The traditions ascribed to Companions (and probably also those ascribed to Successors) are obviously older than those ascribed to the Prophet. Suffice it to quote two examples from the first group: the Basrian Abū Nadrah (al-Mundir ibn Mālik, d. *c.*109/727) transmitted, on the authority of his immediate informant Abū Sa'īd al-Hudrī, the *hadīt* "Do you want to adopt it [sc. this material] as copies of the Qur'ān?"[870] His Kūfan contemporary, the *qādī* (judge) Abū Burdah (d. 104/722),[871] disseminated, on the authority of his father Abū Mūsā al-Aš'arī, the *hadīt* "I wrote down many 'books' from my father, but he erased them."[872]

The Prophetic traditions against writing down the *Hadīt*, four in all, seem to go back to the following most recent *common* transmitters:

1 the Basrian Hammām ibn Yahyā (d. 163/780 or 164/781)[873] ,
2 the Kūfan Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah (d. 198/813–814),[874] who later moved to Mecca;
3 the Medinese [232] 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam (d. 182/798)[875] ,
4 the Medinese Kaṯīr ibn Zayd al-Aslamī (d. 158/775),[876]

In all likelihood, the first three instances can be traced back to one and the same *hadīt*, which was disseminated in different forms by the transmitters listed above. Its respective *isnāds* start with the Prophet > Abū Sa'īd al-Hudrī > 'Atā' ibn Yasār > Zayd ibn Aslam (Figures 1.1 and 1.2) or the Prophet > Abū Hurayrah > 'Atā' ibn Yasār > Zayd ibn Aslam (Figure 1.3). Thus, those termed most recent *common* transmitters (CL) above become most recent *common* transmitters of the second degree (*partial common links*, PCL according to Juynboll's terminology). The actual most recent common transmitter (CL) turns out therefore to be the Medinese *faqīh* (jurisconsult) Zayd ibn Aslam (d. 136/753),[877] His widely recognized habit of introducing his own *ra'y* (personal [legal] opinion) in his Qur'ānic exegesis was controversial.[878] After this operation, we are left with two Prophetic *hadīts*

against writing down traditions (Figures I.1–3 and Figure I.4), which were put into circulation in Medina at about the middle of the second/eighth century. In addition to being "distributed" again in Medina ■ generation later, one of these traditions was "exported" to Baṣrah and Mecca in slightly divergent versions and disseminated further from there.[879]

The second form of opposition to the *Ḥadīṯ* redaction ordered by the Umayyads consisted in putting additional emphasis on transmission from memory. Scholars from 'Irāqī centers of learning were the most zealous advocates of this practice. In a different context,[880] we have already listed examples of Baṣrian and Kūfan *musannifūn* (systematic compilers) reciting their works without ■ "book." We will add ■ few more examples below. Primarily, they indicate that early Islamic scholars themselves drew a connection between the practice of memorizing *ḥadīṯs* and traditionists hailing from 'Irāqī cities.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal calls the preservation of traditions in memory "the Baṣrian *maḏhab*" (method)[881] and reports how ■ Baṣrian traditionist and theologian, Ibn 'Ulayyah (d. 194/809–810),[882] [233] became enraged about a Meccan Prophetic tradition approving of writing down traditions which had been disseminated by 'Amr ibn Šu'ayb.[883] The blind scholar Qatādah ibn Di'āmah (d. 117/735),[884] also from Baṣrah, is referred to by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal as having "a better memory than the people of Baṣrah" (*'aḥfaẓ min 'ahl al-Baṣrah*).[885] As we have already seen above,[886] it was also Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal who observed that he preferred the *ḥadīṯs* from 'Abd ar-Razzāq on the authority of Ma'mar to the *ḥadīṯs* from those Baṣrians (because they made mistakes by overreliance ■ their memory).

The Kūfan *Ḥadīṯ* "keepers" (*ḥuffāẓ al-Kūffīyīn li-'l-ḥadīṯ*) were also well-known.[887] One of them, al-A'maš (d. 148/765), was highly regarded in his time as *the* traditionist of the people of Kūfah. It goes without saying that "he did not have a book" (*kāna muḥaddiṯ'ahl al-Kūfah fī zamāni-hi wa-lam yakun la-hū kitāb*, "he was the traditionist of the people of Kūfah in his day but he did not have a book"). In addition, he was considered to be "the most excellent Qur'ān reader and the best 'keeper' of the *Ḥadīṯ*" of his circle (*kāna 'aqra'a-hum li-'l-Qur'ān wa-'aḥfaẓa-hum li-'l-ḥadīṯ*).[888]

One of the reasons for the particularly aggressive rejection which the written recording of traditions met in 'Irāq might be sought in the opposition of the anti-Umayyad cities Baṣrah, Kūfah, and Medina to the Umayyad capital Damascus. Outside Syria, people were not always prepared to accept *ḥadīṯs* codified and disseminated under Umayyad control. Even az-Zuhrī was rumored to have occasionally bowed to Umayyad pressure and sanctioned traditions which were advantageous to the rulers.[889]

Perhaps people also feared that in a time of factional strife, in which the Muslim community was about to disintegrate into numerous sects and theological factions, they were in danger of destroying the unity of Islam forever by allowing each and every religious and political grouping, indeed even every single scholar, to follow

the Umayyad example and start to spread their own *ḥadīṯ* collections in written form. With a flexible "oral teaching," the danger of providing a rallying point for schismatic movements was significantly smaller. As long as this teaching was not codified, scholars could maintain the illusion that, in the final consequence, tradition was—just like the Qur'ān, the "written teaching"—still "one."

The following argument could also have bolstered the case against the written recording of traditions: Baṣrian traditionists, who frequently were also theologians mostly of Qadarite persuasion (e.g. Ibn 'Ulayyah and Sa'īd ibn Abī 'Arūbah), were accustomed to, and valued applying, a flexible "oral doctrine" in their discussion. [234] Similar circumstances could have prevailed with scholars in the towns of Kūfah and Medina, which were strongly influenced by Šī'ite factions. Compared to, and valued applying, a flexible "oral doctrine" in their discussion of *ḥadīṯs*. Studies by J. van Ess[890] and M. Cook[891] have demonstrated not only that it happened but *how*. The desire for flexibility certainly played a role in the continued efforts scholars went to to preserve the *Ḥadīṯ* as an exclusively oral teaching. In its last phase, however, the transmission of tradition from memory seems to have been pursued as a sport rather than ■ serious business, especially in Baṣrah.

■ ■ "written teaching"; its text was fixed and its preservation and transmission was controlled by a specialized scholarly caste, the *qurrā'* (Qur'ān readers). All that could be done was to interpret the immutable text. An exclusively orally preserved teaching, however, could easily be manipulated by way of additions, deletions, tendentious alterations and distortions, and, last but not least, the outright forgery of *ḥadīṯs*. Studies by J. van Ess[890] and M. Cook[891] have demonstrated not only that it happened but *how*. The desire for flexibility certainly played a role in the continued efforts scholars went to to preserve the *Ḥadīṯ* as an exclusively oral teaching. In its last phase, however, the transmission of tradition from memory seems to have been pursued as a sport rather than ■ serious business, especially in Baṣrah.

What, then, about the proponents of the written recording of traditions? An analysis of the *isnāds* of relevant traditions shows that dicta in favor of writing may have been spread as early ■ the first century AH. On numerous occasions, we encounter the name of the Meccan Companion 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ (d. 65/684)[892] Sometimes, he is listed as the original informant[893]; sometimes he and his readiness to write are the subject of the tradition.[894] In one case, he might even be the original informant and the most recent CL at one and the same time.[895] 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr possessed a *ṣaḥīfah*, a notebook, which he used to record traditions of the Prophet and the Companions. He did not keep this notebook secret, but, contrary to the customary practice of other scholars with their notes, boasted in public of this *ṣaḥīfah*, probably the most famous of its kind, going so far as to give it its own name, *aṣ-ṣādiqah*, "the truthful." It became the subject of ■ frequently quoted tradition[896] reported on the authority of 'Abd Allāh himself as the original transmitter. This notebook was subsequently handed down in 'Abd Allāh's family from father to son. We will hear of it again later.

[235] In spite of this early example, the dissemination of *ḥadīṯs* advocating the written recording of traditions took place mainly during the second/eighth century. Most of these *ḥadīṯs* only branch out during this time and those which could be older branch out anew (so-called PCLs, according to Juynboll's terminology). We

find the name of the Meccan scholar, 'Amr ibn Šu'ayb (d. 118/736),[897] either as most recent common transmitter (CL) or as most recent transmitter of the second degree (PCL).[898] He is none other than 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr's great-grandson, who had inherited his *ṣaḥīfah* and was occasionally accused of merely having "found" it without having "heard" it from his father.[899]

While native *ḥadīṯ* critics associate the memorization of *ḥadīṯ* with 'Irāqīs, especially Basrians,[900] the use of "found" *ṣaḥīfahs*, to which, naturally, the opponents of written recording strongly objected, was associated with "Syria"[901] or with "Mecca or Yemen."[902]

In Mecca, Muǧāhid (d. 104/722)[903] was, among others, a prominent advocate of the written recording of the *Hadīṯ*. He is said to have given his *hypomnēmata* (*katub*) to his students for copying.[904] One generation later, the Meccan Ibn Ǧurayǧ (d. 150/767),[905] who is, together with Sa'īd ibn Abī 'Arūbah,[906] reported to be one of the earliest authors of *muṣannaf* works,[907] proudly claimed: "No one has collected and written down Tradition as I have" (*mā dawwana 'l-'ilm tadwīnī-ṣahad*).[908] This happened at about the time when Sa'īd ibn Abī 'Arūbah was commended in Basrah for not having possessed a book.

However, opponents of written recording could of course be found in Mecca. Its advocates never closed ranks as did the exponents of oral transmission in Basrah for a long time. The most famous Meccan to plead the case for oral transmission is 'Amr ibn Dīnār (d. 126/743),[909] 'Alī 'bn al-Madīnī considers him to be one of the six most prominent *Hadīṯ* "keepers" (*ḥuffāz*) of Muhammad's community (among the other five, we find two Basrians, two Kūfans, and the Medinese az-Zuhrī).[910] Still, 'Amr ibn Dīnār is reported[911] to have permitted his student Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah to write down '*arāf* (beginnings and ends of a *ḥadīṯ*).[912]

The writing down of traditions seems to have met the least opposition in Yemen. The Yemeni [236] Hammām ibn Munabbih (d. *c*.101/719)[913] is the author of ■ *ṣaḥīfah* which, in ■ later transmission, survived and was edited.[914] According to reports, he allegedly bought "the books"[915] for his brother Wahb[916]—showing how little value they attached to "heard" transmission. We have already seen above[917] in the case of Hammām ibn Munabbih's student Ma'mar ibn Rāšid that recitation from memory was not practised in Yemen.

Now, how do these findings fit into the picture developed so far? First, we notice that the opposition to the codification of the *Hadīṯ* was weaker in urban centers farther removed from Syria such ■ Mecca and Ṣan'ā' than in 'Irāq or Medina. Public use of a *ṣaḥīfah* (notebook) seems to have been a sort of custom in Mecca and the Yemen. Given that 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ actually disseminated the *ḥadīṯ* discussed above (Figure III.1), his stance could be interpreted as evidence for sporadic opposition occurring as early as the first century AH to the general scholarly consensus of the period that the *Hadīṯ* was to be considered as oral teaching, only to be recorded (if at all) in *hypomnēmata* (preferably kept private).

The defense of written recording by way of suitable *ḥadīṯs* in the second century AH seems to have been, at least in part, more of a reaction against the 'Irāqī and Medinese aversion to writing rather than conscious support for Umayyad efforts to codify the *Hadīṯ*. Among the protagonists, we find several owners of written records, who, as was the case with 'Amr ibn Šu'ayb, regarded the *ṣaḥīfah* ■ a precious heirloom and thus joined the ranks of the defenders of written ■ a matter of course. As we have seen in the case of Ibn 'Ulayyah,[918] the activities of the pro-writing faction could in turn lead to ■ counter-reaction by some Basrians.

The advocates of written recording of the second century AH do not appear belong to one particular "ideological" group. Rather, they were probably pragmatists, who refused to take part in the game of transmission from memory, either because they possessed a precious *ṣaḥīfah*, had a bad memory, or for some other reason. With their stance against memorizing, they are predecessors of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, who often commented on the questionableness of this method of transmission.[919] From about the middle of the second century AH, we also find 'Irāqīs among their ranks, who, as the most recent common transmitter, spread traditions supporting written recording. For example, the Basrian al-Ḥasīb ibn Ǧahd (d. 146/763 or earlier)[920] circulated the Prophetic *ḥadīṯ* according to which the Prophet is said to have advised ■ man who complained about his bad memory:[921] [237] "Aid your memory with your right hand!"[921] *Hadīṯ* scholars suspected him of having forged the tradition and generally consider him to be ■ liar.[922] It is quite conceivable that in ■ place as inveterately opposed to it ■ Basrah, his advocacy of writing down traditions, based on a Prophetic *ḥadīṯ*, might have been one reason for his bad reputation.

Five *ḥadīṯs* contain the following phrase: "Shackle the knowledge" (*qayyidū 'l-'ilm*), that is, write down the traditions. This slogan is ascribed to the Prophet,[9 'Alī,[924] 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās,[925] Anas ibn Mālik,[926] and even 'Umar.[927] T subsequent development in the third/ninth century shows that traditions we in fact finally "shackled," that is, put into a fixed written form and redacte As was the case in Judaism, oral teaching became ■ second written teachin which enjoyed the same or almost the same respect as the original writte teaching.[928]

Still, it would be wrong to assume that the advocates of written recording co pletely won the day. *One* aspect of oral transmission championed for such a lo time was not discarded in the third/ninth century or later: the ideal of an "audite transmission, "heard" in the teacher's lecture (*samā'*). Transmission by way "mere copying" of written material, *kitāb(ah)*, was still regarded as weak and w to be avoided wherever possible.[929] Even the canonical *Hadīṯ* compilations h al-Buḫārī, Muslim, and others were in principle to be received, if at all possib by way of *samā'*,[930] even though, in practice, only few scholars were able to he these monumental works in their entirety in the lectures of their authors or the authorized transmitters.[931]

[244] The diagrams show the most important of the ʾisnāds (chains of authorities) discussed in this chapter, analyzed according to the method developed by Schacht and Juynboll. I am calling this method of ʾisnād analysis by this name because it was originally developed by J. Schacht in his book *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*[932] and subsequently revised and refined by G. H. A. Juynboll in his *Muslim Tradition*[933] and other publications on the subject. It should be noted that other scholars such as J. van Ess and H. Motzki have also employed this method very fruitfully and have developed it further.

The starting point of an ʾisnād analysis according to this method is an individual *ḥadīṯ*. As far as possible, *all* the extant ʾisnāds for the tradition in question are collected, compared, and charted in a diagram. In conformity with Juynboll's approach, the Prophet or the oldest/original transmitter is recorded at the bottom of the diagram, followed by an ascending line of subsequent transmitters. The direction of transmission is indicated with lines. Dotted lines denote paths of transmission which are in doubt or rarely attested. For Prophetic *ḥadīṯs*, we frequently find that the first three or four transmitters following the Prophet are identical in all the (otherwise different) ʾisnāds and that the ʾisnād then branches out. Thus, our diagrams assume the form of a tree. Companion *ḥadīṯs* often branch out earlier. Schacht and Juynboll use the term common link (CL) for those transmitters after whom the ʾisnād branches out: they are the most recent common transmitters of the tradition. According to Schacht, the CL indicates the earliest point in time after which the tradition was spread. Juynboll designates later branching points of the ʾisnād (in the tree diagram) as partial common link (PCL). The corresponding transmitters are responsible for the further dissemination and sometimes for new formulations of a tradition.

This method of ʾisnād analysis is not to be confused with another approach, namely that of F. Sezgin.[934] The starting point for this different method, which was applied in ■ similar form by H. Horst,[935] L. Zolondek,[936] and M. Fleischhammer,[937] is not an individual *ḥadīṯ* or a single historical report (*ḫabar*), but an entire compilatory work such as al-Buḫārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ (The Sound [Collection])* or aṭ-Ṭabarī's *Tārīḫ (History)*. It aims to identify the direct sources of the work in question.

To this end, the ʾisnāds occuring in the work are collected and recorded ■ index cards. These are then arranged according to the *most recent* transmitter (i.e. the direct informant, teacher, or *šayḫ* of the compiler). Starting with the most recent transmitter of a group, branching points are identified. They indicate the direct source (which, according to Sezgin, was invariably written) of the compiler (it might be preferable to [245] apply to these "direct sources" Zolondek's term "collector source"). On the other hand, those transmitters that do not mark a branching point in the ʾisnād are "mere transmitters" of these sources.

Diagram I , 1–3

Figure I.1

"Do not write down anything on my authority except the Qurʾān."

Hammām ibn Yaḥyā
(d. 163/780; Baṣrah)
↑
Zayd ibn Aslam
(d. 136/753; Madīnah)
↑
ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yasār
(d. 103/721; Madīnah)
↑
Abū Saʿīd
al-Ḥudrī
(d. 74/693; Madīnah)
↑
Prophet

(*Taqyīd*, pp. 29–32)

Figure I.2

"The Prophet did not permit me to do it."
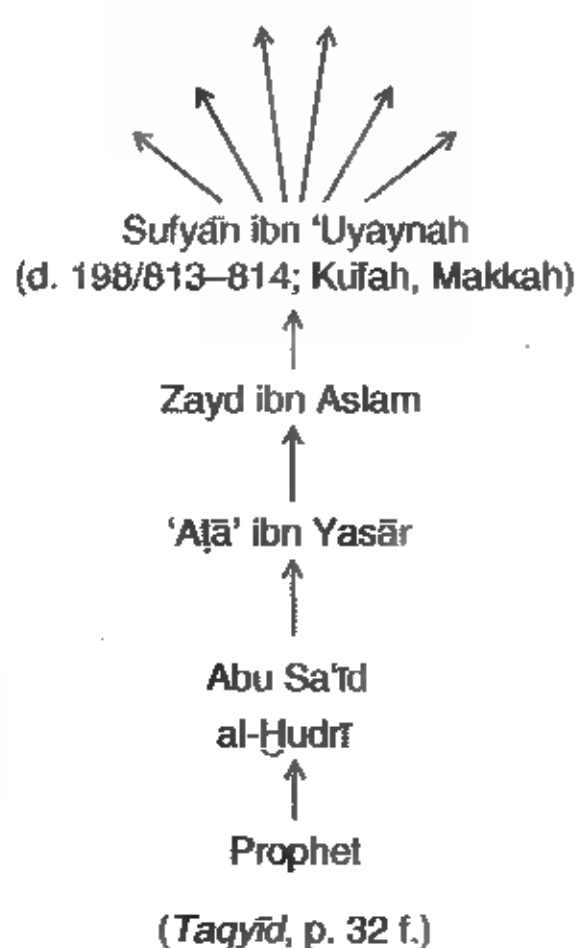
Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah
(d. 198/813–814; Kūfah, Makkah)
↑
Zayd ibn Aslam
↑
ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yasār
↑
Abu Saʿīd
al-Ḥudrī
↑
Prophet

(*Taqyīd*, p. 32 f.)

Figure I.3

"Do you desire ■ book other than the Book of God?"

ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān
ibn Zayd ibn Aslam
(d. 182/798; Madīnah)
↑
Zayd ibn Aslam
↑
ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yasār
↑
Abū Hurayrah
(d. 58/678; Madīnah)
↑
Prophet

(*Taqyīd*, p. 33 ff.)

Figure I.1/2/3

Hammām
ibn Yaḥyā   Sufyān
ibn ʿUyaynah   ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān
ibn Zayd
↑
Zayd ibn Aslam
↑
ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yāsar
↑
Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥudrī (d. 74/693)/
Abū Hurayrah (d. 58/678)
↑
Prophet

(*Taqyīd*, pp. 29–35)
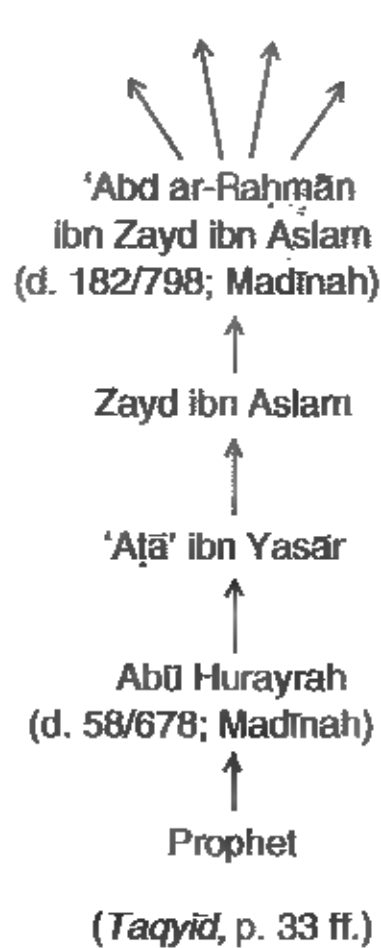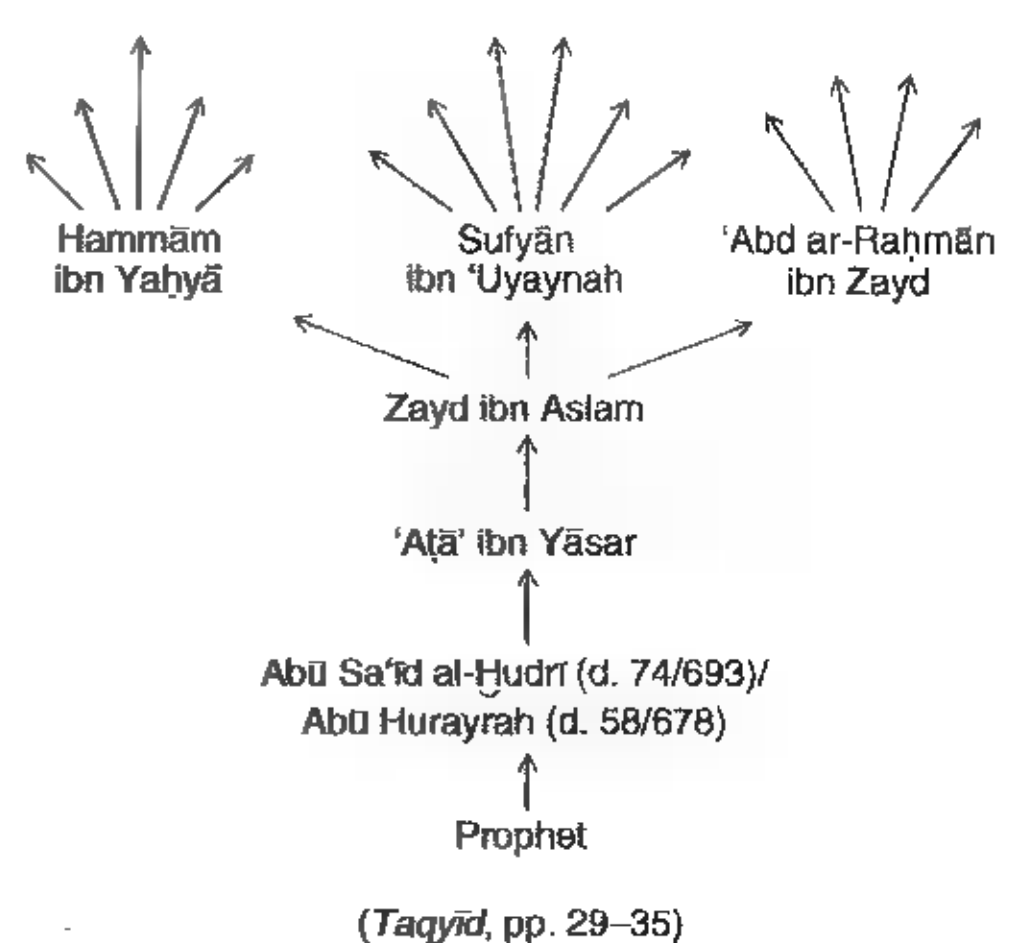
None of the *Prophetic ḥadīṯs* rejecting the written recording of traditions (seen in Figures I.1–I.4; these are all we have) can be found in the following precanonical ("old") *ḥadīṯ* compilations, which include a chapter entitled *Fī karāhīyat kitāb al-ʿilm* (*On the Aversion to the Writing Down of Knowledge*) or ■ similar heading: the *Kitāb al-ǧāmiʿ* (*The Collection*) by Maʿmar ibn Rāšid (d. 153/770); Abū Ḫaythamah's (d. 234/848) *Kitāb al-ʿilm* (*The Book of Knowledge*), and the *Muṣannaf* (*The Systematically Arranged [Collection]*) of Ibn Abī Šaybah (d. 235/849). Likewise, they do not occur in al-Buḫārī (d. 256/870). However, Muslim (d. 261/875) already knows the *ḥadīṯ* in Figure I.1,[938] Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/888) quotes the *ḥadīṯ* of Figure I.4[939] and at-Tirmiḏī (d. 279/892) that in Figures I.1 and I.2.[940] (I have not consulted the remaining canonical compilations.) We have already noted (on p. 125) that the *isnād* in Figure I.3 consists of variants of one and the same tradition. In the case of the *ḥadīṯ* of Figures I.1/2/3, at-Tirmiḏī already noticed and explicitly recorded this fact. Apparently, ad-Dahabī arrived at the same result for the *ḥadīṯ* of Figures I.2 and I.3: in his *Mīzān*-article on ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam,[941] which includes several traditions put in circulation by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, he first refers to the *isnād* in Figure I.2 and names Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah as the most recent transmitter (he is the CL in the *isnād* of Figure I.2). Then, he quotes the *isnād* in Figure I.3 (CL: ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Zayd), but qualifies it as *munkar* ("rejected", unrecognized). Apparently, ad-Dahabī has here recognized the (P)CL phenomenon!

However, the *ḥadīṯ* in Figure I.1/2/3 is hardly an outright forgery, but rather ■ "backward projection" (*rafʿ*: literally: "raising") of a possibly authentic, but at least old dictum ascribed to Abū Saʿīd al-Ḫudrī (cf. Figure II.1) to the Prophet. This was already assumed by medieval traditionists, most prominently al-Buḫārī.[942] In fact, both traditions have a similar content. The transference might have been aided by the fact that, in the *isnād* in Figure II.1, Abū Saʿīd explicitly refers to the Prophet: "do therefore preserve in memory (also) on our authority, as we have preserved in memory on the authority of your Prophet." The reference could easily give rise to the quotation. In all likelihood, Zayd ibn Aslam (the CL in the *isnād* of Figure I.1/2/3) was responsible for the backward projection (ʿAṭāʾ ibn Yasār, from whom Zayd ibn Aslam—genuinely or allegedly—transmitted, would be a far less likely candidate). In any case, Zayd ibn Aslam's transmitters (Hammām ibn Yaḥyā, Ibn ʿUyaynah and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Zayd) must have received the tradition already in its "Prophetic" guise from Zayd, since their versions share this characteristic. As the respective PCLs, they are responsible for the wording of the individual versions: Hammām ibn Yaḥyā for the *ḥadīṯ* of Figure I.1; Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah for the *ḥadīṯ* of Figure I.2; and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam for that of Figure I.3.

The most problematic of these versions is the *isnād* of Figure I.3 with the "false" original transmitter Abū Hurayrah. As we have seen above, it ■ already classified by ad-Dahabī as "unrecognized" (*munkar*). Interestingly, we find this version of the *ḥadīṯ* in Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* (*The [Collection] Organized According to the Last Transmitter before the Prophet*)[943] as part of the chapter

(*musnad*) on Abū Saʿīd al-Ḫudrī, even though the original **[246]** transmitter listed in his *isnād* is Abū Hurayrah and not Abū Saʿīd![944] For the version in Figure I.2 al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī quotes—inadvertently or as a result of contamination by the *isnād* of Figure I.3—the following transmitters (from the CL): Ibn ʿUyaynah (the CL) *ʿan* ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam *ʿan ʾabī-hi* etc. With at-Tirmiḏī[94..] and ad-Dārimī,[946] I would prefer to read: Ibn ʿUyaynah *ʿan* Zayd ibn Aslam etc.[94..]

With the *ḥadīṯ* in Figure I.4, we are seen to have another case of a backward projection to the Prophet, this time of a dictum by Zayd ibn Tābit. There is ■ similar tradition with a different *isnād*, traced back to Zayd himself, in which ■ (in a similar situation) rejected the written recording of his own words.[948] In all likelihood, the backward projection goes back to the CL, the Medinese Kaṯīr ibn Zayd al-Aslamī. Again, it was ad-Dahabī who noticed that Kaṯīr set the tradition in circulation in *this form*; he quotes the text in his article on Kaṯīr ibn Zayd in his *Mīzān* (*Scales*).[949] In this case ■ well, ad-Dahabī seems to have recognized the CL phenomenon.

The *ḥadīṯ* in Figure II.1 can be found in two "old" compilations: that of Abū Ḫaythamah[950] and that of Ibn Abī Šaybah.[951] It might possibly be authentic, but is certainly old: if it did not originate with Abū Saʿīd al-Ḫudrī, it must have been ascribed to him at the latest by the transmitter immediately following him, the Basran Abū Naḍrah (d. c.109/727). This much we can see from the diagram: Abū Naḍrah is clearly the CL of the tradition, followed by three PCLs.

Incidentally, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḫudrī is credited with ■ third tradition against writing which is reported with a different *isnād*.[952] It is, therefore, ■ distinct possibility that he himself (and not Abū Naḍrah) had already spread the idea that people were not supposed to write down traditions.

Like the *ḥadīṯ* in Figure II.1, we also find the *ḥadīṯ* in Figure II.2 in the "old" compilations of Abū Ḫaythamah[953] and Ibn Abī Šaybah.[954] Like the former, it is one of the most frequently quoted and important *ḥadīṯs* against writing down traditions and also possibly authentic, but at least old: if it did not come from Abū Mūsā al-Ašʿarī, it must have been ascribed to him by his son Abū Burdah in Kūfah—as we can see from the diagram, which shows Abū Burdah as the tradition's CL with several PCLs.

In sum, we have established ■ number of positive results from our analysis of *ḥadīṯs* against the written recording of traditions:

1 In all likelihood, the Prophet himself never made a statement to this effect.
2 It cannot be ruled out that the prohibition was already pronounced in the first/seventh century by some Medinese Companions.
3 The prohibition was definitely disseminated and advocated during the first generation of Successors (first quarter of the second/eighth century) particularly in Baṣrah and Kūfah.
4 During the second generation of Successors (second quarter of the second/eighth century) in Medina, it was projected backwards to the Prophet

[247] Of the *ḥadīṯ*s listed here which approve of written recording, we find the following in the "old" compilations: that of Figure III.1 in Ibn Abī Šaybah's *Muṣannaf*[955] and that of Figure IV.1 in the *Ǧāmiʿ* of Maʿmar ibn Rāšid.[956] The four canonical compilations I have consulted contain the following traditions: that of Figure III.1 in Abū Dāwūd,[957] that of Figure IV.1 in al-Buḫārī[958] and at-Tirmiḏī.[959]

In the case of the anti-writing *ḥadīṯ*s, the diagrams all take the form of a tree: in Prophetic traditions, the usual sequence is Prophet—Companion—Successor—Successor—CL; in the Companion *ḥadīṯ*s discussed, Companion—Successor—Successor—CL. The ʾisnād structures of traditions endorsing writing are much more difficult to assess. At least at first glance, none of them display the tree form.

But it might be possible through interpretation to reduce those in Figures III.1, III.2, and IV.2 to a tree structure.

Figure III.1 comes close to this form: at any rate, in the usual place, it has ▪ obvious CL, ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb, followed by several PCLs. It is therefore certain that ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb disseminated the *ḥadīṯ*. However, it is equally plausible that the original transmitter, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, had already disseminated it himself, because the ʾisnād branches out after him. Still, most of the lines of transmission radiating from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr (except for that between him and ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb) are rarely attested and some of the scholars who people them are obscure. Thus, we can consider them *inauthentic* and ignore them. This does not necessarily apply to the line Yūsuf ibn Māhak ʿan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr with the CL (or PCL) Yaḥyā ʾbn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, attested by Ibn Abī Šaybah[960] and Abū Dāwūd.[961] To me, it seems rather unlikely (but not impossible) that Yaḥyā ʾbn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān invented this ʾisnād, perhaps to replace the "weak" (because it (as CL or PCL) involves "merely written" transmission) ʾisnād ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb ʿan ʾabī-hi ("on the authority of his father") and so on with a "better" line of transmitters (because it involves purely "heard"/"audited" transmission). A key argument against such a supposition would be the fact that the tradition's content was probably not very much to the liking of Yaḥyā, a Basrian scholar wary of written transmission. It would be highly improbable for him to "improve" the *ḥadīṯ* by providing it with ▪ "better" ʾisnād of his own invention. The following explanation is in my opinion more likely: ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Aḥmaṣ, the teacher of Yaḥyā,[962] who claimed to have received the tradition from al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Muġīṯ,[963] was himself ▪ student of ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb.[964] Native *Hadīt* criticism already charges him with numerous faults in transmission.[965] Therefore, it is quite conceivable that for this *ḥadīṯ*, he either inadvertently or intentionally named Walīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh, another of his teachers, instead of the correct transmitter ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb.

[248] If that were the case, we would have almost restored the tree structure. The only remaining task would be to delete the rarely attested transmission line leading through ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Rabāḥ to Ibn Ǧurayǧ, which is apparently only known to Ibn Ǧurayǧ. It clearly merits less confidence than the well-attested and indubitably historical line Ibn Ǧurayǧ ʿan ("on the authority of") ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb. If we follow this reconstruction and argue that the *ḥadīṯ* was initially disseminated by ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb (as the CL), another question suggests itself: did ʿAmr project backwards

to the Prophet a tradition which was originally attributed to, and ended with, or was narrated about, his great-grandfather ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr (probably the one in Figure IV.1, which ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb had in his repertoire anyway), by appending the unverifiable ʾisnād "from my father, from his grandfather" to it?[966] In favor of this hypothesis, we could argue that ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb consistently preferred the Prophet as ▪ source for legal knowledge.[967]

In conclusion, it should be stressed that these considerations are purely hypothetical. We are unable on the basis of ʾisnād analysis alone to exclude the possibility that the *ḥadīṯ* was already disseminated in the first/seventh century by ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr.

The case of *ḥadīṯ* of Figure III.2 is less complicated. Its text is nothing more than ▪ variant, more exactly an updated variant, of the wording of Figure III.1. ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muʾammal, who received the tradition from ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb, is responsible for this intervention.[968] He simply substituted the older phrase "Yes, write (it) down!" with the slogan "Shackle the knowledge" (cf. p. 129). It is therefore not an outright forgery, but a special case of *ar-riwāyah bi-l-maʿnā* (non-literal transmission). The two transmission lines which do *not* pass through ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr are suspect: compare the discussion of Figure III.1 on the line Ibn Ǧurayǧ ʿan ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Rabāḥ ʿan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr. Our only witness for the line Ibn Abī Mulaykah ʿan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr is Ibn al-Muʾammal, and is most likely spurious. Perhaps Ibn al-Muʾammal wanted to support his "updated" version with the additional ʾisnāds. If our considerations so far are correct—which in this case is highly likely—we would have restored the customary tree structure also for this tradition: its CL would be ʿAmr Ibn Šuʿayb; ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muʾammal, its PCL.

Of the two Companion-*ḥadīṯ*s backing written recording which we have mapped in the earlier diagrams, that of Figure IV.1 is undoubtedly old; it is quoted in Maʿmar's *Ǧāmiʿ* (*Collection*).[969] Maʿmar transmits it directly from his teacher Hammām ibn Munabbih. If it did not originate from Abū Hurayrah, it must have been ascribed to him only a generation later. As depicted in the diagram, it has *two* CLs or (if we accept the supposed original transmitter Abū Hurayrah as the CL) PCLs: Hammām ibn Munabbih and ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb. The latter in turn received it from Abū Hurayrah through two lines of transmitters: Muǧāhid and al-Muġīrah ibn Ḥakīm.

The *ḥadīṯ* in Figure IV.2 has ▪ clear CL (with two PCLs): Muǧāhid. Thus, he must have disseminated the *ḥadīṯ* at the beginning of the second/eighth century, if not earlier. The other lines [249] emanating from the (alleged) original transmitter, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, ▪ either rarely attested (e.g. Abū Rāšid al-Ḥubrānī ʿan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, ▪ single transmitter (e.g. Layṯ ʿan Ṭāwūs ʿan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr; Ṭāwūs is only attested by Layṯ, who in turn received the tradition in ▪ secure connection from Muǧāhid).

To sum up and conclude our discussion, we can state the following: it is certain that, already at the beginning of the second/eighth century, traditions well disposed

[247] Of the *ḥadīṯs* listed here which approve of written recording, we find the following in the "old" compilations: that of Figure III.1 in Ibn Abī Šaybah's *Muṣannaf*,[955] and that of Figure IV.1 in the *Ǧāmiʿ* of Maʿmar ibn Rāšid.[956] The four canonical compilations I have consulted contain the following traditions: that of Figure III.1 in Abū Dāwūd,[957] that of Figure IV.1 in al-Buḫārī[958] and at-Tirmiḏī.[959]

In the case of the anti-writing *ḥadīṯs*, the usual sequence is Prophet—Companion—Successor—(Successor)—CL; in the Companion *ḥadīṯs* discussed, Companion—Successor—(Successor)—CL. The ʾisnād structures of traditions endorsing writing are much more difficult to assess. At least at first glance, none of them display the tree form. But it might be possible through interpretation to reduce those in Figures III.1, III.2, and IV.2 to a tree structure.

Figure III.1 comes close to this form: at any rate, in the usual place, it has an obvious CL, ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb, followed by several PCLs. It is therefore certain that ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb disseminated the *ḥadīṯ*. However, it is equally plausible that the original transmitter, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, had already disseminated it himself, because the ʾisnād branches out after him. Still, most of the lines of transmission radiating from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr (except for that between him and ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb) are rarely attested and some of the scholars who people them are obscure. Thus, we can consider them inauthentic and ignore them. This does not necessarily apply to the line Yūsuf ibn Māhak ʿan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr with the CL (or PCL) Yaḥyā ʾbn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, attested by Ibn Abī Šaybah[960] and Abū Dāwūd.[961] To me, it is rather unlikely (but not impossible) that Yaḥyā ʾbn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān (as CL or PCL) invented this ʾisnād, perhaps to replace the "weak" (because it involves "merely written" transmission) ʾisnād ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb ʿan ʾabī-hi ("on the authority of his father") and so on with a "better" line of transmitters (because it involves purely "heard"/"audited" transmission). A key argument against such a supposition would be the fact that the tradition's content was probably not very much to the liking of Yaḥyā, a Basrian scholar wary of written transmission. It would be highly improbable for him to "improve" the *ḥadīṯ* by providing it with a "better" ʾisnād of his own invention. The following explanation is in my opinion more likely: ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Aḫnas, the teacher of Yaḥyā,[962] who claimed to have received the tradition from al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Muġīṯ,[963] was himself a student of ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb.[964] Native *Ḥadīṯ* criticism already charges him with numerous faults in transmission.[965] Therefore, it is quite conceivable that for this *ḥadīṯ*, he either inadvertently or intentionally named Walīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh, another of his teachers, instead of the correct transmitter ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb. [248] If that were the case, we would have almost restored the tree structure. The only remaining task would be to delete the rarely attested transmission line leading through ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Rabāḥ to Ibn Ǧurayǧ, which is apparently only known to Ibn Ǧurayǧ. It clearly merits less confidence than the well-attested and indubitably historical line Ibn Ǧurayǧ ʿan ("on the authority of") ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb. If we follow this reconstruction and argue that the *ḥadīṯ* was initially disseminated by ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb (as the CL), another question suggests itself: did ʿAmr project backwards

to the Prophet a tradition which was originally attributed to, and ended with, or was narrated about, his greatgrandfather ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr (probably the one in Figure IV.1, which ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb had in his repertoire anyway), by appending the unverifiable ʾisnād "from my father, from his grandfather" to it?[966] In favor of this hypothesis, we could argue that ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb consistently preferred the Prophet as a source for legal knowledge.[967]

In conclusion, it should be stressed that these considerations are purely hypothetical. We are unable on the basis of ʾisnād analysis alone to exclude the possibility that the *ḥadīṯ* was already disseminated in the first/seventh century by ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr.

The case of *ḥadīṯ* of Figure III.2 is less complicated. Its text is nothing more than a variant, more exactly an updated variant, of the wording of Figure III.1. ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muʾammal, who received the tradition from ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb, is responsible for this intervention.[968] He simply substituted the older phrase "Yes, write (it) down!" with the slogan "Shackle the knowledge" (cf. p. 129). It is therefore not an outright forgery, but a special case of ar-riwāyah bi-ʾl-maʿnā (non-literal transmission). The two transmission lines which do not pass through ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr are suspect: compare the discussion of Figure III.1 on the line Ibn Ǧurayǧ ʿan ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Rabāḥ ʿan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr. Our only witness for the line Ibn Abī Mulaykah ʿan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr is Ibn al-Muʾammal, and is most likely spurious. Perhaps Ibn al-Muʾammal wanted to support his "updated" version with the additional ʾisnāds. If our considerations are correct—which in this case is highly likely—we would have restored the customary tree structure also for this tradition: its CL would be ʿAmr Ibn Šuʿayb; ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muʾammal, its PCL.

Of the two Companion *ḥadīṯs* backing written recording which we have mapped in the earlier diagrams, that of Figure IV.1 is undoubtedly old; it is quoted in Maʿmar's *Ǧāmiʿ* (*Collection*).[969] Maʿmar transmits it directly from his teacher Hammām ibn Munabbih. If it did not originate from Abū Hurayrah, it must have been ascribed to him only a generation later. As depicted in the diagram, it has two CLs or (if we accept the supposed original transmitter Abū Hurayrah as the CL) PCLs: Hammām ibn Munabbih and ʿAmr ibn Šuʿayb. The latter in turn received it from Abū Hurayrah through two lines of transmitters: Muǧāhid and al-Muġīrah ibn Ḥakīm.

The *ḥadīṯ* in Figure IV.2 has a clear CL (with two PCLs): Muǧāhid. Thus, he must have disseminated the *ḥadīṯ* at the beginning of the second/eighth century, if not earlier. The other lines [249] emanating from the (alleged) original transmitter, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, are either rarely attested (e.g. Abū Rāšid al-Hubrānī ʿan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr) or are based solely on the testimony of a single transmitter (e.g. Layṯ ʿan Ṭāwūs ʿan ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr; Ṭāwūs is only attested by Layṯ, who in turn received the tradition in a secure connection from Muǧāhid).

To sum up and conclude our discussion, we can state the following: it is certain that, already at the beginning of the second/eighth century, traditions well disposed

towards writing were traced back to the Companions Abū Hurayrah and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr (Figures IV.1 and IV.2). Possibly, these traditions indeed originated with those two Companions. In this case, they would have already been spread in the seventh century, the first century AH. The *Prophetic hadīṯs* permitting written recording are probably more recent than the corresponding *Companion hadīṯs* (the earliest securely identifiable CL of the former group of traditions, exemplified by Figures III.1 and III.2, is 'Amr ibn Šu'ayb, d. 118/736), but they are certainly older than the oldest Prophetic *hadīṯ* prohibiting written recording (in which Zayd ibn Aslam, d. 136/753, is the CL). Still, we cannot rule out the possibility that a Prophetic *hadīṯ* approving of written recording was disseminated as early as the first/seventh century (with 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr as the possible CL of the *hadīṯ* of Figures III.1 and III.2).

Thus, we arrive at the following hypothetical chronological sequence (in what follows, we ignore the first/seventh century, in which there might have been ▪ rudimentary discussion of the subject):

1 Successors credit Companions with *hadīṯs approving* of written recording (first quarter of the second/eighth century; particularly in Mecca and Yemen), probably initially in reaction to the predominant (theoretical) consensus *not* to write down traditions (for public use), subsequently also as a reaction to (2).

2 In the ▪ period, other Successors credit Companions with *hadīṯs against* writing (in Baṣrah and Kūfah and also in Mecca), initially as a mnemonic aid and later also to dispute (1) but—most importantly—to combat Umayyad efforts towards a codification of the *hadīṯ*.

3 Emergence of *Prophetic hadīṯ in favor* of writing (first and second quarter of the second/eighth century; especially in Mecca) in reaction to (2).

4 Appearance of *Prophetic hadīṯs against* writing (second and third quarter of the second/eighth century; Medina and Baṣrah) in reaction to (3) and especially in reaction to the prevailing public use of written compilations by traditionists in Damascus, Mecca, and Ṣan'ā'.

Addenda

The most important recent work on the subject is M. Cook's booklength article *The Opponents of the Writing of Tradition in Early Islam*.[970] He agrees with ▪ on most points, but also points out "substantial disagreements."[971] He writes: "Schoeler's adherence to Schacht's 'common link' method constitutes the major methodological difference between his approach and my own."[972] Cook maintains that we *cannot* make any claims about the controversy surrounding the writing down of traditions in the first/seventh century.[973] Interestingly, he has ▪ serious objection to my chronology of that controversy.[974] Another bone of contention is my account of the efforts of the Umayyads to codify *Hadīṯ* as well ▪ my take ▪

az-Zuhrī's activities as a collector of traditions.[975] On the basis of the arguments set out above, I still cannot see any reason to doubt the authenticity of these reports. Cook's "main objection ▪ concerted effort ▪ to this view is that, had these initiatives been historical, representing ▪ concerted effort on the part of the authorities in Syria, we would have expected them to leave a strong mark on Syrian Tradition; but this is not in fact the case." However, the author concedes that "these reports . . . are not in themselves implausible."[976] See also my remarks concerning p. 122 and 123–124.

Another important recent source on the issue is M. J. Kister's article *Lā taqra'ū 'l-qur'āna 'alā 'l-mushafiyyīn . . . Some Notes on the Transmission of Hadīṯ*,[977] Kister lists and analyzes numerous traditions dealing with writing down *hadīṯ*.

P. 122 and pp. 123–124
In all likelihood, the element of coercion apparent in az-Zuhrī's tradition "We had an aversion to writing . . ." relates to the caliph Hišām and *not* 'Umar II: in traditions referring to 'Umar II which deal with the codification of *Hadīṯ*, this element never occurs.[978] If there is any mention of a ruler exerting pressure, it is invariably Hišām, never 'Umar II. Apparently Cook believes that the reports concerning the codification of *Hadīṯ* were transferred from Hišām to 'Umar; "in some versions . . . (the bully?) Hišām is replaced by the (saintly?) 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz; the tradition then lacks the character of an excuse."[979] It seems to me that traditions about the codification efforts of 'Umar II originally mentioned only Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥazm as (designated) collector. Apparently, only late and unreliable reports forge the link between 'Umar II and az-Zuhrī.[980] Thus, az-Zuhrī's *Hadīṯ* compilation—which I regard as authentic—probably only took place during the caliphate of Hišām. He commissioned it for the use of the princes.

P. 128
There *does* seem to have been some opposition in Yemen in the first half of the second/eighth century against the writing down of traditions after all. Cook[981] points out that in the majority of sources, Ṭāwūs ibn Kaysān (d. 106/724–725) was portrayed as an opponent of writing. On this issue, I now side with Cook who notes that "both Meccan and Yemeni tradition provide useful evidence of the controversy over writing."[982]

P. 130
Sergin's own account of his method can be found translated in chapter 1, p. 178, n. 132.

Pp. 139–140
While Cook rejects the common link method, on which my hypothetical chronology of the controversy is based, he observes: "Though unable to establish such a chronology myself, I have no serious objection to it."[983]

6

WHO IS THE AUTHOR OF THE KITĀB AL-ʿAYN?

hāḏā ʾl-kitāb ʾawwal at-taʾālīf
This book is the first composition (Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfah)

The *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (*The Book of [the Letter] ʿAyn*) is the first and oldest dictionary of the Arabic language written in Arabic.[984] It consists of two parts: the introduction, that sets out the idea of creating a dictionary, which comprises the entire vocabulary of Arabic, and the dictionary proper. The introduction establishes a highly idiosyncratic system of arranging the Arabic roots that constitute the lemmata. This system is based not on alphabetical order, but on phonetic criteria, according to where the root's radical letters are pronounced. From sounds produced at the deepest point of the throat, the laryngeals, it proceeds upwards and ends with the labials. According to this schema, the "deepest" sound is the letter ʿayn.

In the main part of the work, the dictionary proper, the Arabic roots are listed and explained,[985] arranged according to the principle discussed in the introduction.[986] Individual lemmata not only contain lexical material, but often also grammatical, metrical, and musical information.[987] The first chapter lists all roots beginning with the letter ʿayn or containing the consonant in any other position. Accordingly, the whole book is called *Kitāb al-ʿayn*.

The fundamental importance of the work for Arabic lexicography and the immense interest aroused by the so-called phonetical-permutative order need not be discussed here. Rather, in the following study, we will focus on the question of authorship: who was the author of this, the oldest Arabic dictionary, [16] and perhaps the oldest scientific work in the Arabic language?

The discussion of this issue is, in F. Sezgin's words,[988] "very complicated and goes back to a very early period." One of the frequently mentioned candidates for authorship is the great Basrian grammarian and metrical scholar al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. probably between 160/777 and 175/791),[989] the teacher of Sībawayhi and discoverer of the Arabic metrical system. Yet, even a cursory glance at the

work reveals that the situation is more complicated,[990] for al-Ḫalīl is frequently quoted, but only as *one* authority among many others. In addition, we find many quotes from philologists and poets, some of which are substantially later than al-Ḫalīl and which he could not therefore have quoted. Furthermore, we can read in the introduction about the substantial contributions to the work by another scholar, a certain al-Layṯ ibn al-Muẓaffar (d. 100/815–816),[991] Apart from the fact that he was apparently ■ companion or friend of al-Ḫalīl, not much is known about this not very important philologist.

Numerous studies have already been devoted to the question of the authorship of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*.[992] Three scholars in particular left their mark on the discussion: Erich Bräunlich, Stefan Wild, and Rafael Talmon.

In his study entitled *Al-Ḫalīl und das Kitāb al-ʿAin*,[993] Bräunlich was the first to distinguish theoretically and practically between the two approaches open to us in answering the question of the authorship of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*:

1 an analysis of the text of the work itself;
2 ■ collection and critical examination of the positions medieval Muslim scholars took on this matter.

In sum, Bräunlich established that the majority of Muslim scholars, while denying al-Ḫalīl's authorship, took the view that other scholars, al-Layṯ ibn al-Muẓaffar in particular, contributed to the work. This is a fundamental observation. Bräunlich's own opinion, based mainly on his analysis of the text of the work itself (which, however, was only partially available to him), is ■ follows: while al-Ḫalīl deserves to be called the book's "intellectual creator" and the originator of "the plan" or "idea of such a comprehensive Arabic dictionary and its astute arrangement . . . on the lines of formal criteria," al-Layṯ has to be credited with continuing and [17] finishing it.[994] Bräunlich observes: "We have to do with one of those frequent cases in which the intellectual creator is not identical with its redactor."[995]

Unsurprisingly, the question of authorship had to be revisited once more in Wild's monograph on the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*—if only because now the complete text of the work was available in a Berlin manuscript. His findings confirm and specify those of Bräunlich. They can be summed up as follows.[996] In its transmitted form, the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* must have been compiled on the basis of different sources and cannot have originated from al-Ḫalīl ■ a whole. Rather, for the most part, it originated from al-Layṯ ibn al-Muẓaffar. Later redactors also contributed a part of the material.[997] But the actual author or at least the most important compiler or redactor is al-Layṯ. Only those passages and ideas with which the redactor expressly credited him can be confidently attributed to al-Ḫalīl. These are as follows:

1 Most of the ever so important introduction, including the idea of the creation of ■ comprehensive dictionary of the Arabic language and the justification of its peculiar arrangement. Moreover, this introduction is extant not in the form edited by al-Ḫalīl, but in the redaction of al-Layṯ.

2   Those sections of the dictionary explicitly ascribed to al-Ḫalīl, Wild observes: "This, however, means that, for the largest part of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, we cannot prove, and therefore should not posit, its direct or indirect provenance from al-Ḫalīl."998

Even though Bräunlich's and Wild's findings ▪▪ largely consonant and rest on a firm methodical and textual basis, they have not won unanimous recognition and have occasionally been disputed.

In the introduction to his edition of the first part of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (published 1967), ʿA. Darwīš claimed that al-Ḫalīl wrote the entire book; he relegated al-Layt to the simple role of transmitter."999 According to Darwīš, the numerous quotations from later philologists and poets are additions supplied by later redactors such ▪▪ 1000

[18] The text of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* is now completely available in an eight-volume edition prepared by M. al-Maḫzūmī and I. as-Samarāʾī. The editors concur with the position taken by Darwīš and conclude: "The *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, its theoretical foundation and execution, its explanation, interpretation and citation of evidence, is the work of al-Ḫalīl, because it fully matches his (scientific) procedure and his mindset."1001

They maintain that the different view taken by the indigenous tradition arose because the work was created in a time in which scholars were mentally not yet capable of grasping and accepting such a marvellous achievement.1002

While these Arab scholars ascribe the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* more or less completely to al-Ḫalīl, the Polish Arabist Janusz Danecki takes a diametrically opposed position. In his article entitled "Early Arabic Phonetical Theory. Phonetics of al-Ḫalīl Ibn Aḥmad and Sībawayhi" (1986), he seeks to prove that al-Ḫalīl cannot have been the intellectual father of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, let alone its actual author. He arrives at this conclusion on the basis of a comparison between the phonetic teachings al-Ḫalīl is credited with in the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* and those put forward by his most eminent student Sībawayhi in his grammatical work, the *Kitāb*. Danecki is able to demonstrate that the texts ascribed to al-Ḫalīl cannot have been known to Sībawayhi: while the latter, as W. Reuschel showed, quotes al-Ḫalīl hundreds of times in his *Kitāb*,1003 there is not even one single reference to him in the part of his book dealing with phonetics.1004 Since al-Ḫalīl's purported phonetic system is obviously more elaborate and superior when compared with Sībawayhi's, Danecki assumes that it must have emerged later than Sībawayhi's system and consequently could not have originated with al-Ḫalīl.1005 Danecki's assumption leads to the conclusion that al-Layt's ascriptions of material to al-Ḫalīl are false, that is, deliberately forged. As evidence for his hypothesis, he also quotes the views of ancient Arab philologists, the majority of whom doubted or rejected outright al-Ḫalīl's authorship.1006

Most recently, R. Talmon published his views on the issue of authorship. In his book *Arabic Grammar in its Formative Age. Kitāb al-ʿAyn and Its Attribution to Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad* (1997), he probed the problem again from all angles.

One approach he took was to compile all instances in the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* in which al-Ḫalīl is named and quoted and to analyze both the respective terms (ʿalfāz) used to introduce the quotations and the contents of the quotations in question.1007 Further, he checked the entire range of grammatical (but not lexical) discussions and teachings found in the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* against the teachings usually ascribed to al-Ḫalīl in other works (particularly in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*).1008

Talmon's position on the issue of authorship largely tallies with the views taken by Bräunlich and Wild. On the basis of his textual evidence, he establishes that al-Ḫalīl's main contribution consisted of the "formation of *Kitāb al-ʿayn's* outlines," its plan or schema1009; though he did not work out the individual lemmata in detail. This was left for al-Layt to elaborate. But as phrases such as *qāla 'l-Layt; qultu li-'l-Ḫalīl…fa-qāla* ("al-Layt said: I said to al-Ḫalīl…and he said") demonstrate, "Ḫalīl collaborated with Layt in the composition of entries in this dictionary and was his authority in the systematic and detailed organization of its general scheme."1010

In addition, the following results of Talmon's work are relevant for this study:

1   All information given in the biographical literature about the relation between al-Ḫalīl and al-Layt and their respective roles in creating the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* was taken from the book itself.1011 Thus, we *cannot* treat it ▪ evidence *independent* of the statements provided by the book itself. This is ▪▪ important supplement to Bräunlich's analysis of the opinions of indigenous Muslim scholars.

2   Numerous *grammatical* teachings explicitly ascribed to al-Ḫalīl in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and other early sources can also be found in the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*. Here, some of them are expressly attributed to al-Ḫalīl, some are quoted without naming the source.1012 This means that—an important addition to Wild's findings—large parts of the dictionary proper, including passages not explicitly ascribed to him, must have been based on teachings of al-Ḫalīl.

However, Talmon does not explain why, according to the tradition, the older linguistic scholars, particularly the companions and important students of al-Ḫalīl as well as the following generation of scholars, absolutely refused to acknowledge the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* ▪ the work of their master. In this context, Talmon's realization that the information contained in the biographical literature largely depends on the text of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* ▪ cannot satisfactorily explain the situation: ▪ close reading of the text would have revealed to these scholars not only al-Layt's contribution, but also that of al-Ḫalīl. Further, Talmon does not comment on an argument advanced by Bräunlich1013: early Muslim scholars did not refer to al-Ḫalīl as a lexicographer (*lugawī*); in addition, there are almost no instances of lexical teachings by him quoted in the oldest relevant texts.1014 [20] Instead, Talmon advocated studying the lexical material in the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* and comparing it with corresponding material in other early sources (he himself did not undertake such a study). This material was then to be checked against ▪ claim ascribed to Abū Ḫātim as-Sigistānī, who is

said to have stated that none of al-Ḫalīl's important students quoted from the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* in their own lexical works.[1015] Finally, there seems to me to be ▪ adequate explanation for the fact (pointed out by Bräunlich and Danecki) that Sībawayhi quoted al-Ḫalīl hundreds of times in his grammatical book, but not ▪ single time in the part dealing with phonetics.[1016]

The main reason why we will take up the issue again at this point is our conviction that we are now in a position to come to a definitive conclusion, mostly ▪ account of the progress made in the last two decades by intensive research on the system and methods of early Islamic transmission. These results have clarified our views of "the written and the oral" and "writing and books in early Islam."

An analysis of the al-Ḫalīl quotes, including their introductory terminology (*ʾalfāz*), in the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* will be both the starting point and central element of our study. At a later stage, we will discuss and try to understand the views of the ancient Arabic philologists on the authorship of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*. In conclusion, we will critically assess those points of view which differ from the—in our opinion definitive—ideas proposed in this study.

II

After the *basmalah* and the *hamdalah*, the work begins with the following sentence:

> This is what the Basrian al-Ḫalīl ibn Ahmad (God have mercy on him))[1017] compiled on the letters [21] *ʾalif, bāʾ, tāʾ, ṯāʾ* (*hāḏā mā ʾallafa-hu 'l-Ḫalīl ibn ʾAhmad al-Basrī rahmat Allāh ʿalay-hi min hurūf ʾalif, bāʾ, tāʾ, ṯāʾ...*).[1018]

This sentence introduces a short preface by the redactor, who explains why al-Ḫalīl did not start his dictionary with the first letter of the alphabet, *ʾalif*, and how he came to arrange sounds according to their points of pronunciation.[1019] There is no doubt that these statements are made by a redactor and not by al-Ḫalīl.[1020] The manuscripts on which the edition is based, however, do not give us any hints ▪ to the identity of the redactor of this preface. The most likely candidate would be al-Layṯ. This is also what al-Azharī says, who quotes most of the preface and the introduction of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* in the introduction to his *Tahdīb* (*The Refinement of Language*).[1021] However, we cannot exclude the possibility that al-Layṯ's transmitter or an even later scholar was the redactor in question, because the introductory or opening "*isnād* (*riwāyah*)[1022] which lists the two transmitters or redactors of the work following al-Ḫalīl, is placed (at least in the manuscripts on which the edition is based) only *after* the preface and may only apply to what follows without necessarily applying to the contents of the preceding text.

The introductory "*isnād* is as follows: "Abū Muʿāḏ ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʾĀʾid says: al-Layṯ ibn al-Muẓaffar... has transmitted to me (*haddata-nī*) *everything* in this book on the authority of al-Ḫalīl."

The most recent transmitter named in the "*isnād*, Abū Muʿāḏ ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʾĀʾid,[1023] is obscure; apart from the fact that he was a student and transmitter of al-Layṯ, we do not have any substantial information about him.[1024] The terminology of his introductory "*isnād* suggests that he had already received the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* as ▪ whole from al-Layṯ.[1025] As a matter of fact, we find not a single contribution from him in the entire book. He claims to have received the book in "heard"/"audited" transmission (*ar-riwāyah al-masmūʿah*) from al-Layṯ (*haddata-nī*).

[22] It should be pointed out that the expression used in the "*isnād* ("[he] transmitted...*everything*") is very much open to misconstruction. It suggests to the reader that the entire text of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* originated with al-Layṯ or is at least based on his teachings.[1026] This cannot be the case, as can be seen from the source information provided shortly afterwards (e.g. on p. 50: *qāla 'l-Layṯ, qultu li-Abī 'd-Duqayš...fa-qāla*, "al-Layṯ said: I asked Abū 'd-Duqayš...he then answered"; and on p. 51: *qāla...Hamzah ibn Zurʿah*, "Hamzah ibn Zurʿah...he said...," etc.) The claim behind the expression could have originated with either al-Layṯ or Abū Muʿāḏ, but al-Layṯ would be more likely to have been its source than his transmitter. It is possible—as one medieval scholar, al-Azharī, already suspected[1027]—that al-Layṯ consciously chose this formulation to create the impression that the whole *Kitāb al-ʿayn* was the work of al-Ḫalīl.

Immediately after the introductory "*isnād*, we read[1028]: "Al-Layṯ said: al-Ḫalīl said (*qāla 'l-Layṯ, qāla 'l-Ḫalīl*): the words of the Arabs ▪ constructed in four ways: with two, three, four or five radicals."[1029]

Thus begins the text of the actual introduction of the book in al-Ḫalīl's own words.[1030] The subsequent text, however, is not uniform in the sense that al-Layṯ from that point on, continuously quoted a conclusively edited text by al-Ḫalīl. On p. 49, we find two instances of "al-Ḫalīl said" in close proximity, indicating that the redactor apparently put together two of the master's fragments. In this case, we at least have to do with two thematically related al-Ḫalīl quotations. But on p. 50, we find: "al-Layṯ said: I asked Abū 'd-Duqayš...he then answered...". Another short quote from al-Ḫalīl follows on the same page. Subsequently (on top of p. 51), we find a quote from another scholar ("Abū Ahmad Hamzah ibn Zurʿah said...."). It is followed by the first of al-Ḫalīl's three famous phonetic treatises,[1031] introduced by "al-Ḫalīl said." However, attached to it is not the second phonetic treatise (which starts on p. 57), but another quote (the first, mentioned above, occurred on p. 48) from al-Ḫalīl on specific problems of the Arabic radical consonants (p. 52). Al-Layṯ poses ▪ question on that subject, introduced by *qāla 'l-Layṯ: qultu [li-'l-Ḫalīl], fa-qāla* ("al-Layṯ said: I said [to al-Ḫalīl]...and he said," p. 52) and so on.

Other important introductory formulations are "he [sc. al-Ḫalīl] sometimes said" (pp. 57 and 58, inserted into the second phonetic treatise) and "al-Ḫalīl was wont to call..." (p. 58).

Obviously, the introduction is not a uniform text conclusively redacted by al-Ḫalīl (and "merely" quoted by al-Layṯ).[1032] [23] Rather, it is (at least from

the introductory ʾisnād onwards) ■ compilation put together by al-Layt. Still, it consists for the most part of pieces derived from al-Ḫalīl, which themselves are far from being uniform. Naturally, al-Ḫalīl's answers to al-Layt's questions are "oral" or were only recorded in writing by al-Layt. However, both the text of the introduction (cf. above, on p. 146) and the three phonetical treatises probably go back to drafts written by al-Ḫalīl. The use of the phrase ʿilam ʾanna ("know that," obviously an address to the reader), gives us ■ clue—but no certain proof—as to the written character of these sections: we find the expression twice in al-Ḫalīl's introduction (p. 49) and at the beginning of two (nos I and III) out of the three phonetic treatises (pp. 51 and 59). The use of ʿilam ʾanna conforms fully to the style of later Arabic syngrammatic works—Sībawayhi also uses it frequently in his Kitāb (vol. 1, pp. 17, 19, 20, 21, three times on p. 22, etc.) It would be wrong to assume that we are dealing here with "mere" records or memories of lecture courses; the material is worked out with too much care and precision. Since the three treatises originated in different phases of al-Ḫalīl's career,[1033] we have to assume that he preserved all of his written drafts. The inserted expression wa-qā-la marratan ("he said once," in combination with a variant of a previously used phrase), which we find twice in the second treatise (p. 57), indicates that the master often discussed this text with al-Layt or talked about the subject with him on more than one occasion.[1034]

Another fragment of an unquestionably written character can be found at the end of the introduction, marking the transition to the dictionary proper (p. 60): "Al-Ḫalīl said: in this work, we have begun with the letter ʿayn . . . (badaʾnā fī muʾallafi-nā hāḏā bi-'l-ʿayn . . .)."

For our purpose, al-Ḫalīl's[1035] use of the root ʾallafa, "to compose," in the form of the word muʾallaf, "(composed) work" is of the utmost significance[1036], it indicates that al-Ḫalīl had begun to write a proper book. He then made the resultant fragment(s) available to his friend al-Layt. With al-Layt, and al-Layt alone, did [24] he discuss the book and its contents. This can be seen from the questions al-Layt time and again asked al-Ḫalīl. Together with Talmon, we can thus far talk about ■ "cooperation" between the two scholars. Al-Layt must for ■ long time have been the only person aware of the fragment(s) of the book and its contents. He assembled the fragments and supplemented them with information he gathered from asking the master and, less frequently, other scholars (such as Abū 'd-Duqayš, p. 50). He added further material and provided the whole work with redactional notes and remarks. The result is the introduction to the Kitāb al-ʿayn known to us today.

Quotations from al-Ḫalīl can also be found in the dictionary proper. They are, however, much less frequent than in the introduction. According to Talmon's data, al-Ḫalīl's name occurs 67 times in the entire work. Of these 67 occurrences, 21 appear in the introduction.[1037] The quotations occur throughout the whole work; in addition to the introduction his name occurs relatively frequently in the chapter on al-ʿayn, which fills two volumes of the eight-volume printed edition of the Kitāb al-ʿayn (20 instances). Another high count of incidences occurs at the end of the

work (vol. 8, pp. 421, 437, 441, 443, 444, 445). Relatively often, we find al-Ḫalīl quotations at the beginning of individual lemmata, where al-Ḫalīl explains words (vol. 1, pp. 62, 235; vol. 4, p. 131) or, more often, comments on the construction of possible permutations and combinations of radical consonants (vol. 1, pp. 60, 96; vol. 2, p. 274; vol. 3, p. 5; vol. 5, pp. 6, 32; vol. 7, p. 5; vol. 8, pp. 375, 405, 411, 421, 437). In the latter case, Talmon uses the term "technical frame".[1038]

These passages definitely belong to the original contents of the dictionary, already put into writing by al-Ḫalīl: they also contain the expression fa-ʿlam-hū ("so know it"; vol. 1, p. 96)[1039] and, especially significant in that it indicates incontrovertibly the written character of the two passages, ■ cross reference. In vol. 5, p. 32, we read:

Bāb at-tulāṯī: as-ṣaḥīḥ min al-qāf. qāla 'l-Ḫalīl: al-qāf wa-'l-kāf lā yaʾtalifāni, wa-'l-ǧīm lā taʾtalifu ʾillā fī ʾaḥruf muṣarrabah qad bayyantu-hā fī 'awwal al-bāb aṯ-ṯānī min al-qāf

Chapter on the Triliteral [Word]: Proper Use of [the Letter] Qāf. Al-Ḫalīl said: the [letters] qāf, kāf and ǧīm only go together in words which have been arabicized as I have made clear in the first part of the second chapter of the [lemma] on the [letter] qāf

Al-Ḫalīl refers to vol. 5, 6, where he had indeed already explained:

Ḥarf al-qāf: qāla 'l-Ḫalīl: al-qāf wa-'l-kāf lā yaǧtamiʿāni fī kalimah wāḥidah ʾillā ʾan takūna 'l-kalimah muṣarrabatan min kalām al-ʿaǧam wa-ka-ḏālika 'l-qāf wa-'l-ǧīm maʿa 'l-qāf . . .

The [Letter] Qāf: al-Ḫalīl said: the [letters] qāf and kāf are only joined in the same word when that word has been arabicized from a foreign word. The same holds for the [letter] ǧīm with the [letter] qāf . . .

We observe that al-Ḫalīl quotations are much more frequent at the beginning and at the end of the work than in the middle, where they are quite sparse (vol. 1, pp. 60, 96, 129; vol. 2, p. 274, 345; vol. 3, p. 5; vol. 5, pp. 5, 6, 32; vol. 7, p. 5; vol. 8, pp. 375, 405, 411, 421, 437). Even if we have constantly to keep in mind [25] that not all material deriving from al-Ḫalīl is always systematically quoted in his name (cf. immediately below), this distribution suggests that the master worked out (or only sketched) paradigmatic lemmata mainly for the beginning and end of the work and that he left their elaboration, especially in the middle part, to someone else, namely, al-Layt. He seems to have discussed these passages with al-Layt up to the chapter entitled ḥarf al-hāʾ ("the letter hāʾ"), for the latter asked al-Ḫalīl a question about the "technical frame" of al-hāʾ (vol. 3, p. 5).

Most of the remaining al-Ḫalīl quotations in the core of the lemmata, however, can scarcely belong to the original contents of the dictionary. According to Talmon,

they more often contain grammatical (as well as metrical and musical) rather than lexical teachings of the master.[1040] Mostly, they are simply introduced with *qāla 'l-Ḫalīl* ("al-Ḫalīl said"). Therefore, we often cannot distinguish whether the redactor quotes material addressed to him personally by al-Ḫalīl or includes recollections or records of his lecture courses (*maǧālis*). Not infrequently, however, such a lecture of al-Ḫalīl must have been the source, for example, in vol. 3, p. 215 and vol. 5, p. 166, where we find: "al-Layt said: al-Ḫalīl was asked and said." The quotation in vol. 6, pp. 64 ff. is certainly based on a lecture on metrics: the redactor quotes ■ substantial discussion by al-Ḫalīl arguing that the *raǧaz* meter (*mastūr* and *manhūk*, i.e. dimeter or trimeter) is not poetry. On several occasions, the lecturer (al-Ḫalīl) is interrupted by members of the audience, once with a critical remark. At the end, we read: "we were amazed by his speech once we had heard his proof."

It is equally certain that much of the material in the dictionary proper which the redactor does not explicitly ascribe to al-Ḫalīl must be his intellectual property. This has been shown by Talmon[1041] for numerous grammatical teachings in the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* with which al-Ḫalīl is explicitly credited in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and other works. Since al-Ḫalīl did not write a book on grammar[1042] and since Sībawayhi could therefore only have made use of the so-called oral material of his teacher (answers and lectures), al-Ḫalīl must have disseminated the relevant grammatical material (also) in scholarly circles. In many cases we have to ask ourselves whether al-Ḫalīl would have included this non-lexical material at all if he himself had edited the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*.

The distribution of al-Layt's name (in the form of *qāla 'l-Layt*, "al-Layt said," mostly accompanied by *qāla 'l-Ḫalīl*, "al-Ḫalīl said") is much more infrequent in the lexical section of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* than in the introduction. After volume 4, ■ apparently does not occur any more.[1043] Still, there can be no doubt that al-Layt also compiled and redacted most of the dictionary proper. [26] It is certain that the numerous occurrences of the first person singular, for example, *lam ʾasmaʿ* ("I did not hear"; 33 times according to Talmon), or plural, e.g. *balaġa-nā* ("it reached us"; Talmon counts 10 incidences), refer to al-Layt.[1044]

So too for the dictionary proper, al-Layt's compilatory and redactional work consisted of the following tasks: he compiled the extant written fragments of al-Ḫalīl; he completed them (e.g. by filling in the gaps in al-Ḫalīl's "technical frame," which had probably not been completed, on the basis of model entries provided by the latter); he added personal communications he received from the master (often in the form of answers to questions); and, finally, he supplemented the al-Ḫalīl material with additions drawn from other scholars and (infrequently) his own observations (vol. 1, p. 192; vol. 3, p. 32). In addition, he introduced into the lexical section recollections (or records) of al-Ḫalīl's lecture courses or debating circles, which dealt with grammatical and metrical, rarely musical, issues, but never lexical problems. Unfortunately, in the case of many passages, especially the "technical frame," the dictionary's actual core, we are all too often unable to distinguish between the contributions of al-Ḫalīl and al-Layt.

In sum, one particularly important result of our study is the following: in the core part of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, which undoubtedly originated from al-Ḫalīl himself, al-Ḫalīl uses the term *muʾallafu-nā*, "our (composed) work"; second, aspects of his terminology suggest a written style (e.g. *ʿilam ʾanna*, "know that"); and, most importantly, he includes a cross-reference in the lexical section. These points clearly demonstrate that al-Ḫalīl had begun to write a proper book for *readers*, more particularly for *dictionary users*. This was unheard of for his time.[1045]

[27] According to the results of research published in the last two decades, Arab scholars *before* al-Ḫalīl's time used as a rule[1046] to transmit their knowledge in the form of lectures or discussions with their students in *maǧālis* ("sessions") and *ḥalaqāt* (scholarly circles). In most cases, they used written records as mnemonic aids; their students in turn made written notes. During al-Ḫalīl's time, writings belonging to the genre which the Arabs called *muṣannafāt* emerged in numerous disciplines. These were systematically ordered works, arranged into chapters according to subject matter, which, however, were not intended *at this early stage* for a reading public but only for oral presentation. This type of work, straddling the borders of *syngramma* and *hypomnēma*, was already known in antiquity: W. W. Jaeger observes that these writings were "neither lecture notes nor literature" and calls them "scientific writings of the school for the school ... published ... by way of lectures."[1047] According to H. S. Nyberg, Ibn al-Kalbī's (d. 204/819)[1048] *Book of Idols* (*Kitāb al-ʾaṣnām*) belongs to this category of works "which, ■ it were, lacked ■ independent literary life." There are other examples in different fields: in *Ḥadīt*, the *Muṣannafāt* of Ibn Ǧurayǧ, Maʿmar ibn Rāšid, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak[1049]; in historiography, the works of Abū Miḫnaf and Sayf ibn ʿUmar; in *fiqh*, the *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭaʾ* (*The Book of the Well-Trodden Path*) by Mālik ibn Anas; in exegesis, the *Tafsīr* (*Qurʾān Commentary*) of Muqātil ibn Sulaymān; in theology, the works of Ḍirār ibn ʿAmr, and so on. Of al-Ḫalīl's own writings, we probably have to put the *Kitāb al-ʿarūḍ* (*The Book of Prosody*) into this category and possibly also the *Kitāb al-īqāʿ* (*The Book of Musical Metrics*).[1050]

[28] But since these works were linked to the lecture system and lacked ■ independent literary life, all of them were lost in their *original form*. Often, however, the materials they contain were amply used and quoted.[1051] A considerable number of them are extant in further transmission and later revisions, for example, Maʿmar's *Kitāb al-ǧāmiʿ* (*The Collection*), which was incorporated in ʿAbd ar-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* (*The Systematically Arranged [Compilation]*); Mālik ibn Anas's *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭaʾ*, extant in several transmissions (recensions); the *Tafsīr* of Muqātil ibn Sulaymān; parts of the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak; and, last but not least, al-Ḫalīl's own *Kitāb al-ʿarūḍ*, known to us in a rearranged version transmitted in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's *Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd* (*The Book of the Unique Necklace*).[1052]

A comparison between one of the writings preserved only in later transmission mentioned above and Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, an actual *syngramma* bearing all the hallmarks of ■ proper book addressed to ■ reading public,[1053] would show how

substantial the difference is between this category of writings and *syngrammata*, books produced in accordance with all of the dictates of the art.

Al-Ḫalīl did not hold any lectures on the material of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*.[1054] Medieval scholars of linguistics had already established this. [29] In the *Fihrist* (*The Index* or *Catalogue*), we find the following remark about the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, which probably originated with Ibn Durayd: "nobody transmitted this book from al-Ḫalīl."[1055] Al-Ḫalīl did not *systematically* discuss his lexicographical findings and phonetical doctrines in debating circles or communicate them in lectures, the accepted contemporary methods of disseminating knowledge which he himself used to spread his grammatical, metrical, and musical teachings. Evidence for this assumption is provided by two facts collected by Bräunlich, who showed that

1 the older Muslim scholars never call al-Ḫalīl *al-luġawī*, "the lexicographer," but consistently address him as *an-naḥwī*, "the grammarian"; and that
2 the earliest philological texts only quote grammatical, but almost never lexical (and phonetical) teachings of al-Ḫalīl.[1056]

To the numerous works by al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū Zayd, Ibn Qutaybah, and others which Bräunlich scoured, we can now add Abū ʿUbaydah's *Kitāb maǧāz al-Qurʾān* (*The Book of Figurative Language in the Qurʾān*),[1057] Abū ʿAmr aš-Šaybānī's *Kitāb al-ǧīm*,[1058] and Abū ʿUbayd's *al-Ġarīb al-muṣannaf* (*The Book of Uncommon [Vocabulary], Arranged Systematically*).[1059] Talmon's renewed analysis of the relevant literature has not cast any doubt on these findings. He found two examples of *al-luġawī* being applied to al-Ḫalīl which are older than those known to Bräunlich; however, the earliest is no older than Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1201)! Even though Talmon called for a fresh effort to find quotations and ideas by al-Ḫalīl in the lexicographical literature, it is already obvious that, even if a couple of such quotations could be found, they would not change the overall picture: al-Ḫalīl cannot have held lecture courses on phonetics and lexicography. This conclusion does not preclude any remark about lexicographical or phonetical questions he might have occasionally dropped in his circles (on grammar, metrics, or music) or in private discussions, which was subsequently passed on and is thus preserved for us. In the substantial amount of material he studied, Bräunlich found ▊ single instance of a "lexico-etymological doctrine of al-Ḫalīl"[1060]; Wild was able to add one or two such lexicographical quotations.[1061] The first scholar to have demonstrably used the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* is Ibn Durayd (d. 321/993; cf. below on p. 220, n. 1119). Thus, it is certain that for a long time al-Ḫalīl the lexicographer was unknown to Muslim scholars of linguistics.

[30] Like his master, al-Layt did not transmit the work through the usual channels, that is, in lecture courses. To judge from the (at least) four "*isnāds*"[1062] under which, according to Arab scholars of linguistics, the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* was passed on, al-Layt taught the book only to a single student in direct ("heard"/"audited") transmission: Abū Muʿāḏ (see above p. 146). It is certain that the work was mainly transmitted in writing (by way of copying manuscripts).

The ʾisnāds which do not lead back to Abū Muʿāḏ (nos 1 and 2 in the following list) show a gap between al-Layt and his transmitters. They are as follows:

1 The chain of transmitters through which Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1005)[1063] received the book.[1064] The section relevant for our purpose reads as follows: *Bundār ibn Lizzah wa-Maʿrūf ibn Ḥasan ʿan al-Layt ʿan al-Ḫalīl*. Bundār ibn Larrah/Lizzah died around 280/893,[1065] al-Layt probably before 200/815–816.

2 The ʾisnād through which Ibn Durustawayhi (d. 347/958)[1066] is said to have received the work.[1067] This ʾisnād runs: *ʿAlī ʾbn Mahdī ʾl-Kisrāwī: ḥaddata-nī Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr (ibn al-Layt ibn al-Muẓaffar az-Zaǧ)*, ("ʿAlī ʾbn al-Mahdī ʾl-Kisrāwī: Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr ibn al-Layt ibn al-Muẓaffar az-Zaǧ informed me.") The ʾisnād stops with the latter, who is a grandson of al-Layt. Further, we learn that Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr possessed a manuscript which he had "copied" (*intasaḫa-hā*). This might be a copy which this grandson of al-Layt produced for his own use from the autograph of his grandfather, which was still in family hands. Whatever the case, we do not have a direct transmission from al-Layt here, either.

3 As-Suyūṭī quotes another ʾisnād in his *Muzhir* (*The Florescent Book [on the Linguistic Sciences]*)[1068] which includes a number of famous scholars such ▊ Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071) and Ibn Wallād (d. 332/943).[1069] The section relevant for our purpose runs as follows: *ʿan ʾAbī ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī ʾbn al-Mahdī ʾl-Hasan ʿAlī ʾbn al-Mahdī ʿan Abī Muʿāḏ-Abd al-Ǧabbār ibn Yazīd ʿan al-Layt* ("on the authority of Abū ʾl-Hasan ʿAlī ʾbn al-Mahdī on the authority of Abū Muʿāḏ ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār ibn Yazīd on the authority of al-Layt"). This suggests that the Abū Muʿāḏ listed in this ʾisnād is identical with the Abū Muʿāḏ ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʾĀʾiḏ the introduction of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* mentions as ▊ transmitter of al-Layt. The unspecific term *ʿan* ("on the authority of") does not give us any clues about the mode of transmission between ʿAlī ʾbn al-Mahdī and Abū Muʿāḏ on the one hand and Abū Muʿāḏ and al-Layt on the other.

Later transmitters made their own additions to al-Layt's redacted text—a customary practice in the Islamic transmission system. From the names and dates of the authorities quoted, Wild concluded that the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* must have undergone at least one revision after al-Layt.[1070]

III

[31] Our analysis thus far both confirms and adds precision to the findings of Bräunlich, Wild, and Talmon. But this is not the only result we can draw from our new assessment of the question: for we are now in a position to explain plausibly and precisely how the different medieval and modern views on al-Ḫalīl's authorship came about, especially its rejection by several medieval and modern scholars.

Let us first turn to the positions of medieval philologists and biographers. Talmon has recognized that testimonies about the relation between al-Ḫalīl and al-Layt and their respective roles in the composition of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* can be fully explained on the basis of the text of the work alone.[1071]

In the following discussion, we will distinguish between *direct reports* of the biographers and philologists on the one hand and *traditions* quoted by them on the other. These two categories of statements must be treated differently.

Medieval philologists dealt with the following issues in particular or sought to answer the following questions:

1 features of the text which implied that al-Ḫalīl did not finish the dictionary or that somebody else redacted it;
2 possible reasons for this;
3 the respective share al-Ḫalīl and his co-worker(s) had in the composition of the book.

We will take on each of these points in turn.

Concerning point 1, the feature most frequently adduced in this context is the (alleged or true) *defectiveness* of the work (or at least of a large part of it). This deficiency (especially the large number of flaws), as scholars implied or explicitly declared, would have been unthinkable in a book authored or edited by al-Ḫalīl. According to this point of view, these flaws must have been introduced by someone other than the master; most authorities change al-Layt with them.

Taʿlab (d. 291/904) seems to have been the first to notice these flaws; however, we only have two traditions regarding his claims. One of them is reported ▪ the authority of Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Mundirī (d. 329/941),[1072] the other on the authority of Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946).[1073] According to the latter tradition, there were two main reasons for the book's flaws: [32] first, scholars other than al-Ḫalīl filled out the rubrics (al-Layt is not mentioned!); second, the book was not transmitted by "heard"/"audited" transmission, but through copying by scribes (*lam yuḥad ʿan-hum riwāyatan, ʾinna-mā wuǧida bi-naql al-warrāqīn, fa-li-ḏālika ʾiḫtalla 'l-Kitāb*, "it was not received from them through [heard] transmission, but only came to exist through the work of the copyists. It is for that reason that the book is defective").

Az-Zubaydī (d. 379/989) also talks about "contradictions in its manuscripts and confusion in its transmission."[1074] Other scholars who point to the defectiveness of the text are: Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933)[1075]; al-Azharī (d. 370/980)[1076]; Taʿlab[1077]; Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 382/993)[1078]; Ibn Ǧinnī (d. 392/1002)[1079]; al-Qiftī (d. 646/1248)[1080]; an-Nawawī (d. 676/1278)[1081]; Ibn Hallikān (d. 681/1282)[1082].

Other features cited are as follows:

• the phonetical teachings of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* are thoroughly Kūfan in character, whereas al-Ḫalīl's student Sībawayhi follows the Basrian line in his *Kitāb*[1084];

• The text quotes scholars who lived after al-Ḫalīl[1085];
• only one—unknown—person (al-Layt) transmitted the book[1086];
• finally, scholars were scandalized by this presumptious statement at the end of the work: *hāḏā ʾaḫīr kalam al-ʿarab*, "this is the end of the (entire) vocabulary of the Arabs." A modest and pious scholar such as al-Ḫalīl would never have made such ▪ claim.[1087]

[33] All of these arguments are, as Bräunlich has already shown, inconclusive. For obvious reasons, the last two can be dismissed out of hand. The rest are not persuasive either: to our modern minds, even the great al-Ḫalīl was capable of committing errors; even he could, very much like Sībawayhi, have quoted evidence from modern poets[1088]; finally, material taken from poets and philologists living *after* the time of al-Ḫalīl must have been added by later redactors. Still, there is ▪ grain of truth in the arguments of these Muslim scholars, particularly in the first (the defectiveness of the text), since for a large part, the passages which they criticized in fact probably do not belong to the core of the work going back to al-Ḫalīl.

Concerning point 2, the reason most frequently put forward for the hypothesis that al-Ḫalīl did not finish the book or that others completed it is his *death*. This explanation is used in the following sources: an anonymous tradition (introduced with *qīla*, "it was said"), possibly on the authority of Ibn Durayd[1089]; Abū 'ṭ-Ṭayyib[1090]; a tradition traced back to Isḥāq ibn Rāhawayhi (or Isḥāq al-Ḥanzalī)[1091], az-Zubaydī[1092]; and Ibn Hallikān.[1093] In a divergent, entirely legendary tradition,[1094] quoted by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, we find ▪ very different explanation—that of the *loss* of the only finished copy of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* after al-Ḫalīl's death through *burning*.[1095] [34] Finally, a tradition reported on the authority of al-Layt provides the reason that before his death al-Ḫalīl was incapacitated by some *illness*.[1096]

By referring to the formula *raḥmat Allāh* after al-Ḫalīl's name, which occurs at the very beginning of the work,[1097] Bräunlich was able to maintain that he might indeed have died before completing the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*. On the other hand, the formula might be pure, if plausible, speculation on the part of Muslim scholars. The (very slight) element of truthfulness in Ibn al-Muʿtazz's legendary tradition might be accounted for by the fact that the beginning of the work bears the stamp of al-Ḫalīl to ▪ much larger degree than the rest (see above pp. 149–150).

Concerning point 3, we find that opinions differ ▪ to the share of the "authors" of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*. In the following discussion, we will assign the different views to four groups according to the general theory they subscribe to.

1 The first group wants to ascribe the plan (or schema) or the structure of the work to al-Ḫalīl, but not its execution.
2 The second group credits him with a part of the work, mostly the beginning up to the letter *ʿayn*.
3 The third group assumes that the whole work or ▪ part of it was dictated.
4 The fourth group deals with the question of who wrote or redacted the book.

Group 1

- A tradition reported on the authority of Taʿlab: "al-Ḫalīl designed the plan (or scheme) (of the book), but he did not fill in (the rubrics) (*rasama-hū* [sc. the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*] *wa-lam yaḥšu-hū*)... other scholars completed the book"1098;

- Abū 'ṭ-Ṭayyib: "he arranged the chapters, but died before he had filled in (the rubrics of) the book" (*rattaba ʾabwāba-hū wa-tuwuffiya min qabli ʾan yaḥšuwa-hū*)1099.

- Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī (d. 360/970–971 or earlier): "one of the things he laid the foundations for was the structure of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (*min taʾsīsi-hī bināʾ Kitāb al-ʿayn*), which comprises the language of an entire nation"1100;

- [35] al-Azharī: "the foundation of the whole (*taʾsīs al-muǧmal*) at the beginning of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* is by... al-Ḫalīl..., and accordingly, (al-Layt) ibn al-Muẓaffar finished the book after hearing it from his [sc. al-Ḫalīl's] mouth [al-Azharī sums up the consensus of lexicographers of his day]. I know that before al-Ḫalīl, nobody had started and designed (*fī-mā ʾassasa-hū wa-rasama-hū*) the like of it"1101;

- az-Zubaydī: "in all likelihood, it was al-Ḫalīl who laid its foundation and 'straightened' the words of the Arabs [i.e. arranged it in an orderly fashion] (*sabbaba ʾaṣla-hū wa-ṯaqqafa kalām al-ʿarab*). He died before he had finished it and someone (or: people) who was (were) not his equal(s) in the field took over the completion of the work"1102;

- Ibn Ǧinnī: "if al-Ḫalīl worked on it at all, he probably only cast ■ glance at the work done on this book, but he neither undertook (or supervised) it himself nor wrote or published it [sc. the book]" (*lam yali-hī wa-lā qarrara-hū wa-lā ḥarrara-hū*)1103.

- al-Qifṭī: "it is said that he dictated to him [sc. al-Layt] the arrangement (*tartīb*) of the lexicographical *Kitāb al-ʿayn* and indicated the (correct) places in it" (*wa-ʾamlā ʿalay-hi fī-mā qīla tartīb Kitāb al-ʿayn fī 'l-lugah wa-saddada fī-hi ʾamākin*)1104.

- al-Yamānī: "he dictated to him [sc. al-Layt] the arrangement of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*."1105

Group 2

- An anonymous tradition (introduced with *qīla*, "it was said"), possibly ■■ the authority of Ibn Durayd: "people say ...: al-Ḫalīl sought to accomplish (*ʿamila*) it [sc. the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*] for him [sc. al-Layt and taught him his method (*ʿahda-hu tarīqata-hu*). Then, al-Ḫalīl died and al-Layt finished it"1106;

- A tradition according to a certain Isḥāq ibn Rāhawayhi: "Of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, al-Ḫalīl had accomplished (*ʿamila*) only the chapter al-ʿayn. But al-Layt wanted al-Ḫalīl's book to find ■ ready market; he therefore wrote (*fa-sannafa*) the rest of the book and called himself 'the companion' (*aṣḥābī*)"1107;

- as-Sīrāfī: "he [sc. al-Ḫalīl] accomplished (*ʿamila*) (only) the beginning of the famous *Kitāb al-ʿayn*..."1108;

- al-ʿAskarī: "al-Ḫalīl only accomplished (*ʿamila*) part of the book [the consensus of the scholars of al-ʿAskarī's time]; but people also claim that he only accomplished (*ʿamila*) the letter ʿayn; an-Naḍr ibn Šumayl [d. 203/819] completed it in Ḫurāsān,1109 and al-Layt ibn al-Muẓaffar and ʿAlī 'bn Sāsān al-Wāsiṭī collaborated with him. To the book, they added correct material (*mā yaǧūzu*), but also ■ lot of incorrect material; their intention was to make the book complete"1110;

- Ibn Ḫallikān: "most experts in lexicography say: the lexicographical [36] *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, the composition of which (*taṣnīfa-hū*) is ascribed to al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad, was not written by him; he started it, arranged its first sections (*rattaba ʾawāʾila-hū*) and called it 'al-ʿayn'. He then died and his student an-Naḍr ibn Šumayl and his contemporaries completed it. They were: Muʾarriǧ as-Sadūsī [d. after 204/819], Naṣr ibn ʿAlī al-Ǧahdamī and others. But what they wrote (*ʿamilū-hu*) does not conform to what al-Ḫalīl wrote in the beginning. Therefore, they took out of it [sc. the book] whatever al-Ḫalīl had written and rewrote the beginning from scratch. This is why it [sc. the book] contains many mistakes, which al-Ḫalīl would never have made"1111.

- al-Yamānī: "there are splendid works by him [sc. al-Ḫalīl], including the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*. However, he did not complete this work. People say that it was finished by an-Naḍr ibn Šumayl"1112;

- as-Suyūṭī: "this statement by as-Sīrāfī [cf. above!] clearly says that al-Ḫalīl did not complete the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*...: some maintain that he accomplished (*ʿamila*) only ■ part of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, (namely the section) from the beginning to the letter ʿayn; al-Layt is said to have finished it. This is why its beginning does not resemble its end."1113

Group 3

- A tradition reported on the authority of al-Layt: "Then, he [sc. al-Ḫalīl] fell ill and I [sc. al-Layt] embarked on the pilgrimage.1114 ... I returned from the pilgrimage and visited him and he had completed all the letters at the beginning of the book. He dictated to me what he retained in his memory and when he was in doubt about something, he told me: 'Ask (the bedouins) about it!' And if it is correct, include it!' (It went on like that) until I had finished the book"1115;

- Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181): "he [sc. al-Ḫalīl] dictated the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* to al-Layt ibn al-Muẓaffar" (*wa-ʾamla Kitāb al-ʿayn ʿalā 'l-Layt...*)1116;

- al-Qifṭī: "it is said that he [sc. al-Ḫalīl] dictated to him [sc. al-Layt] the arrangement (*tartīb*) of the lexicographical *Kitāb al-ʿayn* and indicated the (correct) places in it ..."1117;

- al-Yamānī: "he dictated to him [sc. al-Layt] the arrangement of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*."1118

[37] Group 4

- A tradition quoted by Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908) and al-Marzubānī: "al-Halīl wanted to give him [sc. his benefactor al-Layt] a present worthy of him...; he therefore studiously devoted himself to the composition (taṣnīf) of the Kitāb al-'ayn. He composed it (ṣannafa-hu) for al-Layt... and nobody else."1119

- Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933): "al-Halīl ibn Ahmad... composed (qad ʾallafa) the Kitāb al-'ayn"1120; "ignore what al-Layt introduced into al-Halīl's book..., because the mistake is al-Layt's, not al-Halīl's"1121; "al-Halīl left this word out; I think it is a mistake of al-Layt."1122 Anonymous tradition (qīla), quoted possibly on the authority of Ibn Durayd: "al-Halīl accomplished (ʿamila) the Kitāb al-'ayn, embarked on the pilgrimage and left the book in Hurāsān."1123

- Al-Azharī (d. 370/980): "al-Layt it was who falsely ascribed to al-Halīl ibn Ahmad the composition (taʾlīf) of the entire Kitāb al-'ayn, to improve its sale under his name and to arouse the interest of those who were around him."1124

- An-Nawawī (d. 676/1279): "Some scholars credit him [sc. al-Halīl] with the Kitāb al-'ayn, some deny it and say: it was portions [of a book by al-Halīl] which al-Layt ibn al-Muzaffar... the companion of al-Halīl, compiled (kānat muqattaʿāt ğamaʿa-hā 'l-Layt). He added and subtracted (material) and ascribed them [sc. the portions or the whole] to al-Halīl, even though the latter is not responsible for it...."1125; "the Kitāb al-'ayn attributed to al-Halīl is (in fact) based on a compilation by al-Layt on the authority of al-Halīl" (huwa min ğamʿ al-Layt ʿan al-Halīl).1126

- As-Suyūtī (d. 911/1505): "The first to compose a comprehensive lexicographical work (ṣannafa fī ğamʿ al-luġah) is al-Halīl ibn Ahmad: he wrote (ʿallafa) the famous Kitāb al-'ayn on the subject... but al-Halīl did not finish it;... most people go so far as to deny that it is a work written (redacted) by al-Halīl (min tasnīf al-Halīl). Some say: the Kitāb al-'ayn is not by al-Halīl, but by al-Layt."1127

In the majority of cases, the reflections and speculations of the medieval scholars are not plucked from the air; rather, they are based on one or more of the following points:

- [38] A more or less detailed scrutiny of the text of the Kitāb al-'ayn;
- the (correct) intuition that the plan or idea of such a work can only have been conceived by a genius, namely al-Halīl;
- the adoption or modification of the point of view of a predecessor.

The views taken by al-Azharī and as-Suyūtī in group (4), but, viewed ■ ■ whole, also those expressed by group (1), are tantamount to the position of Bräunlich and our own contemporary notion that al-Halīl was the intellectual father and al-Layt the redactor or actual author. Ibn al-Mu'tazz and Ibn Durayd "still" credit al-Halīl

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with the composition of the work (taṣnīf, taʾlīf), not without (in the case of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, cf. above p. 155 with n. 1095) postulating the loss and reproduction of the original text or pointing out (in the case of Ibn Durayd) (error-ridden) additions by al-Layt. Al-Azharī on the other hand correctly observes that the composition or redaction (taṣnīf) of the text as a whole was not accomplished by al-Halīl, but by al-Layt. In his Tahdīb (Refinement), an-Nawawī lists the contradictory views of his predecessors alongside each other.

Al-Azharī makes another astute and possibly accurate claim: he maintains that al-Layt falsely ascribed the composition or redaction of the work to al-Halīl. An expression we encounter at the beginning of the work, which a reader cannot (and was not supposed to) interpret other than indicating that the entire work was created by al-Halīl,1128 would, then, have originated in all likelihood with al-Layt. An-Nawawī is absolutely accurate in proposing that al-Layt compiled them with other material. The originator of this position must have reached it through a careful scrutiny of the introduction to the Kitāb al-'ayn.

The position taken by the exponents of group (2) is correct only in so far as they generally assume that al-Halīl did not finish the Kitāb al-'ayn, that is, did not finalize it in all its details. Their claim that he only completed the book up to and including the Bāb al-'ayn is speculation. It could only be justified ■ the grounds that the beginning of the work, particularly the introduction, contains by far the greatest number of al-Halīl quotations. The chapter on the letter ʿayn which, however, is the largest chapter of the book (2 volumes out of 8 in the printed edition)—includes substantially more such quotations than the remaining chapters. Thus, it seems as if al-Halīl left his imprint much more on the beginning than on the rest of the work. Still, drawing a line under the letter ʿayn is arbitrary: we do find ■ number of al-Halīl quotations also after the Bāb al-'ayn ("chapter on the letter ʿayn").1129 The scholars in question might have speculated that al-Halīl himself must at least have redacted the eponymous chapter of the book.

[39] Puzzling (and not readily explicable) are two of the reports quoted on p. 157 which name an-Nadr ibn Šumayl (d. 203/819), a "major" student of al-Halīl, ■ one of the collaborators in finishing the Kitāb al-'ayn, once together with al-Layt and ■ third individual and once without al-Layt, but in the company of other "major" students of al-Halīl. This is especially strange since two traditions report that an-Nadr was not aware of the Kitāb al-'ayn or steadfastly refused to recognize it as the work of al-Halīl (see immediately below).1130 Now, contrary to al-Layt, an-Nadr is not even quoted once in the Kitāb al-'ayn1131; in this case, we have to admit that an-Nadr's name cannot have been added to the list of co-authors on the basis of evidence provided by the text itself. The same applies to the other students of al-Halīl: none of them is quoted in the Kitāb al-'ayn.

The originators of these reports might have been unwilling to concede—or considered it impossible—that ■ scholar whom they regarded as mediocre, namely al-Layt, should have the sole honor of finishing one of the most famous works of Arabic literature. Therefore, they either added major students of al-Halīl

such as an-Naḍr to the list of redactors or even replaced al-Layṯ with them altogether. Incidentally, the second report (Ibn Hallikān) depends on the first (the anonymous tradition quoted by al-'Askarī), and it is interesting to note that the earlier author at least kept al-Layṯ on the roster together with an-Naḍr, while the later author dropped him (or concealed him among the anonymous "others"). Talmon proposes a different explanation by adducing the similarities in the careers of an-Naḍr and al-Layṯ: both were students of al-Ḫalīl, both lived in Ḫurāsān and—according to the biographical information provided by Abū Ḥamīd[1132]—both wrote extensive lexicographical works based on the "book" of Abū Ḥayrah[1133] (d. c.150/767).[1134] Yet, we still do not have an explanation for the fact that, apart from an-Naḍr, Ibn Hallikān also mentions Mu'arrig and others.

The assumption that the book was based on dictation (made by the exponents of the third group) could rest on formulations such as "If somebody says: ..., respond to him: ..." (fa-in qāla 'l-qā'il; fa-qul la-hū: ...) (sic lege; vol. 1, p. 69). They could indeed suggest dictation.[1135] But we still do not have any conclusive evidence for this supposition.

[40] We will now discuss those traditions which report that certain scholars, all of them early Baṣrians, categorically denied that al-Ḫalīl was the author of the Kitāb al-'ayn.

In a tradition quoted by az-Zubaydī on the authority of his teacher Abū 'Alī al-Qālī (d. 356/967), we read[1136]:

None of al-Ḫalīl's major students, an-Naḍr ibn Šumayl, Mu'arrig, Naṣr ibn 'Alī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Aḫfaš and others like them [who in other cases faithfully transmitted the knowledge of their master] knew the Kitāb al-'ayn and nobody had heard (it) from him. It only came to light, from Ḫurāsān,[1137] long after their deaths, namely at the time Abū Ḥātim as-Sigistānī was head of the school in Baṣrah (c.250/865).[1138] People took no notice of it and nobody sought authorisation to transmit even a single letter from it. Rather, Abū Ḥātim and his companions steadfastly rejected and took no notice of it.

In this context, az-Zubaydī[1139]/al-Qālī put forward the following two arguments:

1 If al-Ḫalīl in fact was the author of the book, these eminent students would have transmitted the book instead of the obscure al-Layṯ, to say nothing of his being its only transmitter: they would have been much more deserving of this honor.

2 If the book had been by al-Ḫalīl, it would have been quoted and material from it would have been transmitted by the likes of al-Asma'ī, al-Yazīdī, and Ibn al-A'rābī and by scholars of the following generation such as the muṣannifūn Abū Ḥātim, Abū 'Ubayd, and others. "But," as the tradition maintains, "we

know that in their (own) books, none of them transmitted even ■ single letter by al-Ḫalīl on lexicography."

According to another tradition,[1140] an-Naḍr ibn Šumayl was asked about the book ascribed to al-Ḫalīl. He claimed that he did not know it.[1141] He was then asked: did he perhaps write it after your time (in Baṣrah)? He replied: I did not leave Baṣrah before al-Ḫalīl was buried.

[41] If we approach the two traditions on the basis of a sceptical attitude towards the Arabic tradition of 'ahbār (reports), they would have to be seen as no more than a reflection and legendary elaboration of two facts which Bräunlich had already pointed out: first, that the earliest Muslim scholars never designate al-Ḫalīl ■ al-luġawī, lexicographer, and second, that old lexicographical works almost never quote lexical (and phonetical), but invariably only grammatical and metrical material by al-Ḫalīl.[1142]

With a less skeptical attitude, it could not be excluded that at least the situation related in the first tradition could have been based on facts.[1143] In fact, al-Ḫalīl's major students—and the generation of Basrian linguistic scholars following them—could not have known of the Kitāb al-'ayn or even of al-Ḫalīl's lexicographical activities in general: unbeknownst to his students, he had begun his drafts for the Kitāb al-'ayn—perhaps with al-Layṯ in Ḫurāsān[1144]—which he had planned as a book for readers. He only talked to ■ single person, namely, his friend al-Layṯ, about the book and its fragments, but did not discuss it with his "principal" students. Finally, al-Layṯ—and only he—got hold of the fragmentary text. Al-Ḫalīl never taught the contents of the Kitāb al-'ayn, in the usual manner, in public lecture courses, let alone hold systematic lectures about lexicography (and phonetics).[1145] This also applies to al-Layṯ, who redacted and finished the book and was its actual "author" or at least its compiler.[1146] In sum: from the very beginning, there was no transmission through lecture courses (ar-riwāyah al-masmū'ah)—as it was usually practised at the time—on the authority of al-Ḫalīl in the fields of lexicography and phonetics.

IV

Thus, the two arguments put forward by az-Zubaydī/al-Qālī discussed above are incorrect: al-Ḫalīl had begun to write the Kitāb al-'ayn but yet did not pass it on to his most eminent students; for understandable reasons, then, al-Asma'ī, Abū 'Ubayd, and other linguistic scholars of their time did not quote from the book. Az-Zubaydī/al-Qālī, however, are accurate with their observation that there are hardly any traces of al-Ḫalīl's lexicographical and phonetical teachings in the writings of the early Muslim linguistic scholars and lexicographers prior to Ibn Durayd.[1147] Still, this is not sufficient to disprove that al-Ḫalīl was the intellectual creator of the Kitāb al-'ayn and that he had started to write it.

[42] Likewise, Danecki's argument fails. He maintained that the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* cannot derive from al-Ḥalīl both because his student Sībawayhi never quotes it and because the phonetical system of the latter is independent of and inferior to that of his master. On the contrary, Sībawayhi *could not have known* the book, since al-Ḥalīl did not give public lectures on phonetics and lexicography and the finished and edited *Kitāb al-ʿayn* was circulated only long after Sībawayhi's death. As a consequence, he could neither have quoted it nor been influenced by al-Ḥalīl's ideas. Danecki deserves credit for incontrovertibly establishing that al-Ḥalīl's system was superior to that of Sībawayhi; yet, he errs by concluding from the differences in the technical merits of their respective systems that one must have been developed earlier than the other and then proceeding to claim on chronological grounds that the allegedly later system—that of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*—could not have been created by al-Ḥalīl.

Finally, ■ few words about the opinions of the Arab editors of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, who believe that al-Ḥalīl wrote the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* from beginning to end.

Like their medieval predecessors, these scholars, on the basis of ■ correct intuition, rightly infer that idea and plan of the work and large parts of the text must be the intellectual property of al-Ḥalīl. Since they were not sufficiently familiar both with the characteristic features of the early Arabo-Islamic transmission through lecture courses and with modern European source-critical methods, they do not fully recognize the difference between "intellectual creator" on the one hand and "author" or "redactor" on the other. This is an important distinction for many works of classical Arabic literature. Overwhelmed by the sheer genius of al-Ḥalīl's design, they wrongly conclude that the work shaped according to this design, "a landmark, not only in Arabic lexicography, but in the history of world lexicography,"148 must also have been written in its entirety by al-Ḥalīl.

In this study, I hope to have again—and this time conclusively—demonstrated that al-Ḥalīl was *not* the author (i.e. the compiler or redactor) of the extant *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, even though he is its intellectual creator and large parts of the work are based on his teachings.

Further, it has been shown that al-Ḥalīl had already begun to write the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*: we have found written fragments by al-Ḥalīl in the text known to us today, both in the introduction and the dictionary proper. For whatever reason, al-Ḥalīl did not execute, let alone finish the work. His collaborator and apparently also the person who executed, redacted, and finished the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* was al-Layt ibn al-Muẓaffar. It was he who probably compiled the vast majority of the extant work. Thus, al-Layt must be regarded as its actual author.

[43] If al-Ḥalīl had finished the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, he would have been the author of the first proper book in the history of the Arabo-Islamic sciences. Since this was not the case and since the edited *Kitāb al-ʿayn* only "appeared" much later, this honor belongs to his student Sībawayhi. Consequently, his book ■ grammar was fittingly called *a-Kitāb*, "the Book" (par excellence).

Addendum

P. 220, n. 1119 and p. 161, IV
The first author who can be demonstrated as having used the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* was not Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), ■ Talmon argued, but Abū Ḥanīfah ad-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895) in his *Kitāb an-nabāt* (*The Book on Botanics*); see Bauer (1988, p. 236 ff.). However, Abū Ḥanīfah does not mention al-Ḥalīl as the author of the *Kitāb al-ʿayn*; quotations from the work are introduced by the expression *qāla baʿḍ ar-ruwāt* ("one of the transmitters said"). See Bauer (1988, p. 242 f.).

GLOSSARY

The majority of items included in this Glossary are given in translation (usually in an abbreviated form) in the body of the text, after the relevant Arabic word. The information provided here is intended to supplement and amplify those renderings.

ʾadab According to the context, "good breeding," "manners," "culture," "refinement," "belles-lettres"; an approach to the organization of knowledge typical of the literary and linguistic sciences and characterized by a concern for the manner in which the information is presented.

ʾadīb pl. ʾudabāʾ Man of learning specializing in the literary and linguistic sciences, a "gentleman."

ʾahl al-ʿilm The community of scholars, especially religious scholars.

ʾallafa To compose (sc. a book).

ʿan A preposition characteristically used in a chain of authorities (ʾisnād) to denote the source of the information being relayed.

ʿarabīyah "Pure" Arabic, especially the language of the Qurʾān and ancient Arabic poetry.

ʿarḍ "Presentation," ▪ method of transmission similar to qirāʾah.

ʾawāʾil A class of writings that deals with the question of distinguishing "who was the first" to write a certain book, perform a certain action, or achieve some feat or other.

ʾayyām al-ʿarab The (battle-)days of the Arabs, a term used to denote the accounts of the tribal conflicts that characterized Arabian society before the advent of Islam.

daftar pl. dafātir A notebook or jotter.

dīwān pl. dawāwīn (1) an administrative office, council, chancellery; or (2) ▪ collection, especially of poems.

falsafah Arabic philosophy which takes as its starting point the philosophical heritage of Late Antiquity (in Greek) as it was translated into Arabic during the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

fiqh Scientific study of the Divine Law, the šarīʿah.

ǧāhilīyah "The age of ignorance [sc. of Islam]," the standard Muslim designation for the pre-Islamic period.

grammata pl. grammata (Greek) A text composed within a school or group for the sole and exclusive use by members of that school or group.

ḫabar pl. ʾaḫbār A report, anecdote, or item of information, the arrangement of which is characteristic of the type of writings known as ʾadab; often used as an alternative to ḥadīṯ, when this latter is used in its technical sense of (Prophetic) tradition.

ḥadīṯ Literally ▪ "saying," ▪ tradition about the Prophet Muhammad or one of his Companions; the whole corpus or the genre of such traditions.

ḥalqah pl. ḥalaqāt A circle or group of individuals gathered together for the purposes of study and teaching.

Ḫāriǧites (ḫawāriǧ) Members of the earliest religious sect in Islam; originally Muslim warriors who "left" (ḫaraǧa) the army of the fourth caliph ʿAlī ʾbn Abī Ṭālib (r. 35–40/656–660), in protest against his decision to arbitrate with the then governor of Greater Syria, Muʿāwiyah, the first Umayyad caliph (r. 41–60/661–680). Their vision of the Islamic community, pursued largely by means of military activity, throughout the first three Islamic centuries, was uncompromising and revolutionary, though Ḫāriǧism also developed a quietist branch.

Hiǧrah The "exodus" of Muhammad and the first Muslims from their hometown of Mecca to the town of Yaṯrib (Medina) in the year 622 AD, ▪ event which is considered to represent the foundation of the Islamic community, and from which the Muslim calendar is dated.

hypomnēma pl. hypomnēmata (Greek) Notes, note-book, or aide-mémoire.

ʾiǧāzah Authorization to transmit, sometimes granted by a letter, on which occasion the student is not obliged to spend time with the teacher.

ʾiǧāzat as-samāʿ A written authorization or endorsement attached to a book attesting that the work has been "audited," that is, received via samāʿ.

ʿilm Knowledge, science; frequently synonymous with knowledge of the Ḥadīṯ.

ʿilm al-ʿarab "The science of the Arabs," that is, poetry.

ʾimlāʾ pl. ʾamālī Dictation; dictation session.

ʾiʿrāb The system of vowel-endings (desinential inflection) characteristic of the ʿarabīyah.

ʾisnād Lit. an act of supporting, whence ▪ chain of transmitters, particularly with reference to the list of authorities, arranged by generation, guaranteeing a Prophetic or another tradition.

Kaʿbah The building in Mecca which is called the house of Allāh on earth.

kalām Islamic theology, a discipline involving close argumentation based upon the methods of dialectic and logic.

kātib pl. kuttāb A scribe or state secretary.

kitāb Any piece of writing, such as a letter, note, contract, book, or inscription.

kitābah A method of transmission involving the production of a written copy of a work. See also wiǧādah.

luġah Language.

luġawī pl. luġawīyūn A lexicographer, one who specializes in luġah, language.

madrasah pl. madāris An institution of study, later predominantly for the study of law.

maǧlis pl. maǧālis A session convened for the purposes of discussion or instruction.

matn pl. mutūn The text of any ḥadīt̲, usually introduced by an ʾisnād.

mawlā pl. mawālī A "client," that is, ■ non-Arab who upon conversion to Islam was granted the protection of the tribe of an individual who "sponsored" the convert as patron.

miḥnah A trial or test; the "Inquisition," initiated by the caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 198–218/813–833), and continued by his two immediate successors, al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 218–227/833–842) and al-Wātiq (r. 227–232/842–847), designed to establish caliphal authority in matters of religious belief by focusing on the issue of whether the Qurʾān is created or eternal.

muʿallaqah Literally ■ "suspended" ode; one of the 7, or 10, most celebrated pre-Islamic odes which according to legend were written in gold on banners and suspended from the walls of the Kaʿbah.

mudākarah Literally, "consultation," "learning," "memorizing"; an informal exchange of ḥadīt̲s among students, characterized by recapitulation and review.

muḥadram pl. muḥadramūn A poet whose lifetime spanned both the waning of the ǧāhiliyyah (the age before Islam) and the advent of Islam.

muḥarrif Someone who has not studied with at least two experienced masters.

munāwalah A method of transmission in which the teacher entrusts his pupil with his autograph manuscript or a collated copy.

Murǧite Someone whose beliefs and lifestyle are characterized by the doctrines typical of the political and theological movement known as ʾirǧāʾ, chief among which was the tenet that faith was defined exclusively in terms of the expression of belief and did not involve any consideration of the actions of ■ believer.

muṣannaf pl. muṣannafāt A work arranged systematically into thematic chapters.

muṣannif pl. muṣannifūn A compiler of a muṣannaf.

muṣḥaf pl. maṣāḥif A copy or "codex" of the Qurʾān.

muṣḥafiyyūn A scholar who has only studied the Qurʾān from the codices (masāḥif).

musnad pl. masānid A work in which the traditions are organized by the name of the Companions of the Prophet who transmitted them originally; the companions are often arranged chronologically, in terms of the date of their conversion to Islam.

Muʿtazilite Someone whose beliefs and life-style are characterized by the doctrines typical of the theological movement known as Fitzāl, chief among which were the notions of the indivisible unity of Allāh (whence an abhorrence of any form of anthropomorphism), ■ commitment to the unqualified justness of Allāh (whence their distinctive brand of moral and divine responsibility),

and a conviction that a rational (and reasonable) account of human and divine existence must be possible.

naḥw Grammar, linguistics.

naḥwī pl. naḥwiyyūn A grammarian, linguist.

nasīb The section of a polythematic ode, usually at, or near, the beginning of the poem, the tone of which is characterized by a melancholy sense of loss.

Qadarite A derogatory term for those theologians who maintained that evil is man's doing and that man has the freedom to choose between good and evil.

qāfiyah pl. qawāfī The final rhyme of any verse of poetry.

qāriʾ pl. qurrāʾ Lit. ■ reader, whence a "reciter" of the Qurʾān, and in particular one of the seven scholars who advocated his own version ("reading") of the text of the Qurʾān which subsequently became sanctioned as authoritative.

qaṣīdah pl. qaṣāʾid A long, often polythematic poem, considered to be the highest form of creative composition in verse and especially typical of the pre-Islamic period.

qirāʾah Recitation, a method of transmission in which a student reads a text in the presence of a teacher.

qirṭās pl. qarāṭīs A papyrus or parchment.

qiṣaḥ Lit. a piece or ■ morsel; ■ short poem or "fragment."

qiyās A rule or reasoning according to ■ set of rules; in grammar, analogical deductions.

rāwī pl. ruwāt A transmitter, an individual entrusted with reciting and transmitting the compositions of a poet.

rāwiyah pl. rāwiyāt (1) a rāwī; and (2) a scholarly transmitter of poetry.

rey pl. ʾarāʾ Lit. ■ "view," a personal juridical opinion, a type of legal reasoning which did not involve dependence upon a Prophetic precedent.

risālah pl. rasāʾil Letter, epistle.

riwāyah Transmission of knowledge; a chain of transmission at the beginning of a book (referred to as an introductory ʾisnād).

ar-riwāyah al-masmūʿah Heard ("audited") or aural transmission, involving the method of samāʿ.

riwāyah bi-ʾl-lafẓ Lit. "transmission through words," that is, verbatim transmission; ■ method of transmission in which the wording of a text is scrupulously respected.

riwāyah bi-ʾl-maʿnā Lit. "transmission through meaning or sense"; a method of transmission in which only the sense of the text is preserved.

ṣaḥīfah pl. ṣuḥuf A sheet of writing material.

samāʿ Audition; a method of transmission in which a pupil listens to ("audits") a text recited by a teacher; certificate or endorsement of "audition," attesting to the study of ■ text according to this method.

šāʿir A poet.

šarḥ pl. šurūḥ Commentary.

šayḫ pl. šuyūḫ Elder, tribal chief, teacher, or master.

šayṭān pl. šayāṭīn A demon ("satan"), the source of poetic inspiration.

Šīʿī A member of the community of believers known as *Šīʿat ʿAlī*, the party of ʿAlī ʾbn Abī Ṭālib, the fourth caliph, nephew, and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, whom the *Šīʿah* believe was appointed by Muhammad ▪ his immediate successor. The focal and defining beliefs of the *Šīʿah* ▪▪▪ their adherence to the Imāmate (spiritual leadership) and the enduring role of divine inspiration in the Imām's leadership of the community; according to the *Šīʿah*, the Imāmate is the exclusive preserve of the family of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭimah and her husband ʿAlī ʾbn Abī Ṭālib.

sīrah A biography, often used to refer to the biography of the Prophet Muhammad; popular, folk epic.

ṣuḥufī pl. ṣuḥufiyūn An individual whose learning has been acquired exclusively from books.

sunnah Customary practice or procedure; any practice authorized by its agreement with the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad (or with those of his Companions and the successor generation) as established by the *Hadīt*, the priority of which is typical of beliefs and lifestyle known as Sunnism.

Sunnī Someone who adheres to Sunnism, the principal belief system within Islam which is centered upon the consensus of the scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) ▪ to what constitutes the *sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad; its principal religious and political tenet is that the death of Muhammad meant the end of infallible guidance of the Islamic community. This emphasis on consensus led to the recognition of a diversity of schools (*madāhib*) of law, of which four have predominated (Mālikism, Hanafism, Šāfiʿism, and Hanbalism).

sūrah A chapter of the Qurʾān.

syngramma pl. syngrammata (Greek) A literary work, a "book" in the true sense of the term.

tadrīs A method of teaching characteristic of the *madrasah*.

tadwīn The official collection, or collection on a large scale, of any group of cognate materials, such as poetry or the *Hadīt*.

tafsīr Exegesis, Qurʾānic commentary.

ṭalab al-ʿilm Travel undertaken in the search for knowledge, that is, *Hadīt*.

taʾlīf The act of composition (*ʾallafa*); a compilation, a literary work.

ṭaraf pl. ʾaṭrāf Lit. extremities or tips, that is, written notes recording only the beginning and end of a *hadīt*.

taṣnīf A method of presenting knowledge which consisted of classifying items in a systematic fashion in books (*kutub*) subdivided into chapters: cf. *muṣannaf*.

wiǧādah A method of transmission restricted to the use of a copy of a text (see also *kitābah*).

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

1 Some of these points are rehearsed in Montgomery (2004a).

2 On Hunayn, see G. Strohmaier, EI², vol. 3, pp. 578–581; on Muǧultāy, ▪ professor of Hanafī law, see A. S. Hamdan, art. *Mughultāy*, EI², vol. 7, p. 350.

3 Gutas and Biesterfeldt (1984, p. 55).

4 On Yahyā, see Endress (1977). The treatise has been edited with ▪ French translation by Vincent Mistrih: Yahyā ʾbn ʿAdī (1981) and ably studied by Sidney Griffith (forthcoming). An English translation of ▪ cognate text by Yahyā, *The Reformation of Morals*, is available. See Yahyā ʾbn ʿAdī (2002). Kraemer (1986a,b) ▪ brilliant recreations of this most brilliant period in Islamic intellectual life.

5 Compare Reisman's bold and determined effort to untangle the complex and very messy textual tradition of the collection of Ibn Sīnā's correspondence with his students: Reisman (2002).

6 I have analyzed one case of this in Montgomery (2005).

7 Reading, with Rosen, *muṣannif* for *mudīf*.

8 Reading *nuskah ʾuḥrā* for *nuskat ʾaṣli-hi*. The point is that the copies which include additions later to that version of the history which ended with the caliphate of al-Qāhir (320–322/932–934) and Saʿīd's own patriarchate (in 321/933). The reading of the manuscript would contradict the explanation that the continuator gives for the diversity, by implying that these later additions, covering a part of the reign of ar-Rāḍī and stopping some three years before Saʿīd's death—and which the continuator wants to include!—were not contained in the original which extended to shortly before Saʿīd's death in 328/939–940!

9 Yahyā ʾbn Saʿīd (1924, pp. 709.5–710.4).

10 This process of multiple authorization continued for many centuries. Thus, Witkam (1988) in his attempt to edit a work by Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348), discovered the very impracticality (or perhaps better the impossibility) of constructing ▪ stemma on the classical model.

11 (1991, p. 214; generally pp. 207–241. See also the comments of Whitmarsh (2004, pp. 26–29), such ▪

the controlling metaphor for stemmatic criticism is genealogical: the family of manuscripts is conceived of as a patriarchal dynasty. "Contamination" is, arguably, a highly judgemental term, implying an adulterous pollution of the bloodline. The theory of stemmatics invokes normative morality, as though exhorting the textual family to legitimate reproduction.

12 This is the phenomenon of *récriture*, central to the study of which are the concept of the "soft" text and ■ response to orality and literacy not as a polarity of opposites but rather as a dialectic of options realized through various processes of memory. Examples of the range of methodological approaches accommodated by this grouping are contained in a collection of articles that stem from a conference (1995) held before the grouping was "officially" instituted (1996) but published after its institution: Hen and Innes (2000). See the Introduction by Matthew Innes, "Using the Past, Interpreting the Present, Influencing the Future," pp. 1–8, and the comments of Walter Pohl, "Memory, Identity and Power in Lombard Italy": "the nineteenth-century editors of the MGH [*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*] volumes of the *Scriptores Rerum Langobardorum* and the *Leges Langobardorum* did an excellent job, but they tried to reduce the multiplicity of textual variants to an *Urtext* so that the actual manuscript traditions, the many-faceted process of *récriture*, were obscured" (p. 11); "the surviving texts are traces of a plurality of writings. Totalizing concepts of historical memory are no use in describing them" (p. 23). On "soft" texts, see Innes (1998). I would like to record my gratitude to Professor Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge) for introducing me to this forum.

13 Thus, Gutas and Biesterfeldt (1984) use a stemma to locate variation, while the stemmata constructed for the *Annales Regni Francorum* and its codex enable Rosamond McKitterick to "point to a positive engagement with the text on the part of scribe and compiler" and to demonstrate how "the message of the *Annales* is to be understood not just as the clever construction it once was, whose original text is unrecoverable, but also a collaborative piece of image-making by many Frankish scribes over a number of decades" ("Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography." In Hen and Innes [2000, pp. 170 ff.]).

14 See Günther (2002).

15 This brief discussion of GS's publications is not exhaustive and will give priority to works available in English. For a list of works published since 1996, http://www.unibas.ch/orientsem/111.htm. They include cultural and religious history, the history of philosophy, Arabic rhetoric (see e.g. his article *Tarṣīʿ*, EI², vol. 10, pp. 304 ff.), Persian literature, and the history of Oriental Studies in Switzerland.

16 Thus, GS and I have endeavored to assure that references to Arabic are translated throughout and to refer the reader to alternative English-language scholarship in those cases where GS originally referred to works in German. We have also aspired to provide renderings of the titles of Arabic works which are as concise as possible. This has not proved ■ easy task and it has afforded us much thought. Indeed, in one or two cases the obscurity of the titles has defeated us—we beg the reader's leave not to identify them, beseech reviewers to assist us in the resolution of this difficulty, and refer the interested reader to the amusing and perceptive article on the problem by G. M. Wickens (1989). There are two features of this work for which we make no apology: the (admittedly at times cumbersome) inclusion of dates given according to both the Muslim and the Christian calendar (the use of the *hijrī* [i.e. Muslim] dating system also allows us to retain the right to use AD rather than the now standard CE); and the application of a rigorous transliteration system. In a work which sets much store by the precise use of accurate terminology, the customary nod to reader friendliness, which the abandonment of transliteration has come to represent, did not seem at all appropriate.

17 There are many ways in which a survey of complementarities such ■ this ■ be written. Thus, Schoeler (2002a) is a veritable history of the formative period of Arabo-Islamic writings composed from the point of view of the interface between written and oral. Perhaps the most famous (in Anglo-American scholarship) is the compartmentalization into four rival cultural orientations championed by Marshall

Hodgson (1974) in the first volume of his influential three volume work, *The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in ■ World Civilization. 1: The Classical Age of Islam*: "the Sharʿī Islamic Vision" (pp. 315–358); "Muslim Personal Piety: Confrontations with History and with Selfhood" (pp. 359–409, in which Sufism is included); "Speculation: Falsafah and Kalām" (pp. 410–443); and "Adab: the Bloom of Arabic Literary Culture" (pp. 444–472). In many ways, this work has inspired a view of classical Islamic civilization ■ ■ series of discrete contestations for legitimacy. These struggles for legitimacy, however, should by no means blind us to the existence of these (and other) cultural orientations as a series of choices and inflections at the disposal of an individual Muslim. Let us take from one volume (Berg 2003) just a few more examples of how these relations have been understood: for John Burton, disjuncture is at the heart of his vision of how the Arabo-Islamic disciplines originally related to one another (2003), while Christopher Melchert (2003) considers many of these matters from the point of view of Islamic legal thought with ■ degree of skepticism. There is, it should be noted, nothing in this survey which is essentially at variance with the (controversial) views put forward by John Wansbrough (2003), for we are contesting versions of *mimesis* (and not recreations of historical veracities).

This brief snapshot is devoted solely to those aspects of the Islamic Sciences which GS's work touches immediately upon. Therefore, I have not discussed Shīʿism or Sufism. Interested readers are referred to Kohlberg (2003), for the first of these, and to Sells (1996) and Knysh (1999) for the second.

18 A brief overview of calligraphy and the forms of the Arabic script is given by Tabbaa (2001). The intellectual and spiritual aspects of the scribal tradition and writing practices in the pre- and early-Islamic period ■ explored by George (2003).

19 It is worth remembering just how seminal the Germanic tradition of "source-criticism" in Biblical Studies was, from which it spread into Islamic Studies. Many of the great nineteenth century Orientalists straddled both camps, as, for example, Julius Wellhausen.

20 See al-Azmeh (1992) and Graham (1992–1993).

21 On this, see further Schoeler (2002b, p. 3); Sprenger (1856a,b, pp. 5 ff.; and 1869, vol. 3, pp. xciii ff.).

22 Goldziher (1890 = 1971 and 1896b). Conrad (1993) may be of interest.

23 Sezgin (1967–). The volumes produced by Sezgin when GS published these articles cover: Islamic Sciences (1: Qurʾanic Sciences, Hadīṭ, History, Jurisprudence, Mysticism); Poetry (II); the Natural Sciences (III: Medicine, Pharmacology, Zoology, Veterinary Medicine; IV: Alchemy, Chemistry, Botany, Agriculture); Mathematics (V); Astronomy (VI); Astrology and Meteorology (VII); Lexicography (VIII); and Grammar (IX). The terminus for their coverage is 430/1038–1039. The next three volumes, on Mathematical Geography and Cartography, appeared in 2000, published by the Institut für die Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität.

24 Such ■ polarity is informed by the "hard" thesis of literacy as technologizing; see Ong (1982); Innes (1998).

25 His stance on the issue of authenticity, one which he describes as ■ modified continuation of the "positivist" (however qualified), as opposed to the hypercritical, approach, is conveniently summed up in Schoeler (2002b, pp. 10–14). It is elaborated with beautiful concision in Schoeler (1996a), ■ English translation of which is scheduled to appear after the publication of this work, and is further defended in (2002a) and (2003). See also (1998) and (2000b), together with his article *ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr* in EI², vol. 10, pp. 910–913. In (2002b) the fundamental distinction between genuineness, accuracy, and historical veracity (a distinction which is often lost in the heat of polemic and controversy) is made: ■ tradition may be genuine, but

26 See Gutas (1998).

27 There is ■ excellent collection of articles devoted to the ancient Aristotelian commentators by Sorabji (1990). See also the series of translations of the work of the commentators under the general editorship of Richard Sorabji, *The Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*.

28 Gutas (1983, 1985, 1994, 1999) and Lameer (1997), Stroumsa (1991) is ■ dissenting voice.

29 See the study by Carter (2004); Versteegh (1997, pp. 36–51: "Sibawayhi and the Beginnings of Arabic Grammar").

30 There are several valuable studies of al-Ḥalīl in Ryding (1998).

31 Elsewhere, as in 2002b, pp. 31–41, GS notes parallels between other Islamic disciplines, such as philology discussed in Chapter 2 or the science of the "readings" (qirāʾāt) of the Qurʾān, discussed in Chapter 3. As far as I am aware he does not explicitly propose ■ formative chronology, or assert that one discipline, ḥadīṯ for example, exerted a preponderant influence on its cognates such as philology or qirāʾāt. It is quite possible that importation of the ʾisnād into the discipline of the ḥadīṯ is itself a (comparatively) late phenomenon.

32 Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib's logical compendium on the Eisagoge of Porphyry (d. c.305) has been translated into English. See Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib (1979).

33 For ■ English translation of Ibn Buṭlān's text, see Schacht and Meyerhof (1937a). See also Savage-Smith (1996, p. 927). For an example of a treatise by Ibn Riḍwān translated into English see Dols (1984).

34 In Montgomery (1997b) I have presented a series of arguments for understanding that the next stage in the development of this tradition is to move from the level of revising (improving) the word or the verse to revising (improving) the very structure of the polythematic poems which characterize the period.

35 Adherence to this tradition of progress was so acute in the case of Ibn Ḥawqal that his geography is virtually a verbatim quotation of the work of his predecessor al-Iṣṭaḫrī.

36 The key passage is 183b16–184b8. *The Sophistici Elenchi* was translated quite early on (by Ibn Nāʿimah al-Ḥimṣī [fl. c.215/830], among others). A number of Syriac versions existed prior to its Arabic realization. See Gutas (1988, pp. 202 ff. and 219 ff. and 2003, p. 154 f.) for its importance in reading Avicenna; for further instances of the adoption of this conception of progress, see Montgomery (2005, p. 188, geography) and (forthcoming, for its role in al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-mūsīqī ʾl-kabīr [the Major Treatise on Music]*).

37 Compare also the appeal (especially to Arabo-Islamic Neoplatonism) of the analogous conceptualization of theory and practice formulated, on the basis of Aristotelian precedents, as "the first in thought is the last in action". Stern (1962). Stern's ascription of the saying to Philoponus has been refuted by Zimmerman (1986), p. 227, n. 6. I owe this point to Garth Fowden.

38 Toorawa (2004). The same holds true for the presumed and oft-intoned antipathy which obtained between the "ancient sciences" (ʿulūm qadīmah) typified by falsafah (Arabic philosophy of Hellenic inspiration) and the Islamic sciences (ʿulūm ʾislāmiyah): see the remarks of Gutas (2002).

39 On these typically jurisprudential concepts, see generally Weiss (1998).

40 This is the spiritual dimension of the introductory riwāyahs, which are contained ■ many manuscripts and which can fulfil a religious and cultural function similar to that highlighted above for the ʾisnād within the ḥadīṯ. It is also distinctly manifest in

the chains of qirāʾah which provide an individual scholar's genealogy of knowledge. Thus, for example, Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348) can trace his intellectual lineage back some three centuries to Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037); see Shihadeh (2005, pp. 153 ff.). Michael Cooperson (2000) explores an extension of this notion (the claim to be the heir to the Prophet) in classical Arabic biographical writing.

41 On these issues see Brisson (1998); see also Hadot (1995, pp. 147–178: "The Figure of Socrates").

42 See Madigan (2001) for an intriguing and challenging survey of the terms used in the Qurʾān to refer to the Qurʾān.

43 Berques (1995) makes a point, which I find compelling, that the finally edited form of the Qurʾān may be ■ faithful recreation of the experience of the Prophet and his nascent community of receipt of Revelation, piecemeal over the course of two decades—a convergence of "the chronological and the synchronal" (p. 24).

44 Ǧāhilī is an epithet applied to this period by Muslim scholars to denote the period prior to the revelation of the Qurʾān to Muhammad, when man was "ignorant" of knowledge of Islam. The noun derived therefrom is ǧāhilīyah, the age of "ignorance." Western scholars have largely accepted the designation, though they have preferred to discern in it an antonym to the pre-Islamic virtue of ḥilm, manly self-control, and wise restraint.

The other publication referred to is Monroe (1972), whose article appeared in the third volume of the newly founded *Journal of Arabic Literature*. Monroe (1983) was subsequently to attempt to apply his version of the theory to the poetry of the *Sīrah nabawiyah*, the Prophetic Biography of Muhammad. The lack of success of this article with material which might have seemed more responsive to ■ formulaic approach is telling. More disturbing, however, is the recent obdurate persistence among a number of scholars of this seemingly indefeasible "oral poetry" conception of pre-Islamic poetry.

45 It remains unclear, though, just how representative these poets were of ǧāhilī poetic practice in general. It is to be remembered that al-Ḥuṭayʾah formed a link in the chain of transmitters which stretched back through and beyond Zuhayr, and that in the case of this inter-tribal chain of ruwāt "it seems to be the exception rather than the rule that all members . . . were poets" (n. 666).

46 On the limitations of such ■ approach to poetry, see Montgomery (forthcoming).

47 A translation of GS's original article (which appeared in 1989, the year in which the article translated as Chapter 2 was also published) has appeared in Motzki (2004, pp. 67–108). It has been translated afresh for this book.

48 GS provides ■ brief outline (with references) of this formal mechanism, on page 130. See further Motzki (2004, pp. xxi–xxix and xxxvii–xlii) and al-Azami (1996, pp. 154–205 [Chapter 8]). The parameters of its application have been much refined since Juynboll's revisions and have been used in combination with *matn*-appreciation with ■ considerable measure of success. A dissenting voice remains that of Michael Cook.

49 The organizational approach known as *tasnīf* (arrangement of works by systematic and thematic divisions) forms the subject of Chapter 5 of Schoeler (2002b).

50 Muslim tradition gives the credit for this to Hišām's predecessor, ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, proverbial for his piety: see pp. 123–124.

51 See further Schoeler (2002b, p. 55, and note 80, p. 141; and Chapter 5, especially pp. 71–89).

52 See Schoeler (2002b, pp. 82 ff.).

53 See further Schoeler (2002b, pp. 91–107).

54 A word in Arabic is constructed out of 3, 4, or 5 root (radical) consonants. Thus, the student requires an awareness of the basic principles of morphology in Arabic before she can consult a dictionary.

55 A. S. Tritton, sometime Professor of Arabic at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, notoriously tried to describe the sound of this consonant in the section of his *Teach Yourself Arabic* (London, 1943) on the alphabet as follows: the *'ayn* is

pronounced with...tightening of the throat and forcing up of the larynx. The feeling in the throat is suggestive of slight retching. If you pronounce English vowels with a tightened throat and squeezed larynx, producing ▪ metallic, rather low-pitched voice, they will be near to Arabic vowels in the neighbourhood of this consonant!

56 For the range of classificatory schemes available in the lexicographical tradition, see Carter (1990).

57 A similar paradigm of progress was adopted by Norman Calder (1993) for the dating of early juridical texts. It has been roundly refuted by Lowry (2004).

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58 Additional material can be found in Schoeler (1986), my review of Werkmeister (1983).

59 Abbott (1957-1972).

60 Sezgin (1967-); the title of Sezgin's magnum opus means, "The History of Arabic Writing."

61 Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, pp. 82 ff.); cf. p. 178, n. 132.

62 Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, pp. 19 ff., 58, 399).

63 These claims have mostly been made on the basis of Goldziher (1890, especially vol. 2, pp. 194-202) [=(1971, vol. 2, pp. 181-188)].

64 Stauth (1969), Leemhuis (1981). Additional examples: Muqātil ibn Sulaymān's *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (*Commentary on the Qur'ān*), a later redaction of the original text with added material from other transmitters (cf. Sezgin, 1967-, vol. 1, p. 37 and Wansbrough 1977, pp. 122 ff. and especially pp. 143 ff.); az-Zuhrī's *Nash al-Qur'ān* (*Abrogation in the Qur'ān*), either a carelessly transmitted and extended recension of the original work or a later compilation drawn from earlier sources (cf. Rippin, 1984, 1981, and Goldfield, 1981).

65 U. Sezgin (1981; cf. also 1971, pp. 56 ff. and especially 58, 111 ff.).

66 Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 79, l. 1-5; p. 82, l. 13; cf. also Stauth (1969, p. 229).

67 Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 82).

68 Al-Samuk (1978, especially p. 165).

69 Werkmeister (1983, especially pp. 463 ff.).

70 al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 1, p. 221); Ibn Sa'd (1904-1906, vol. 3.1, p. xxv); Cf. Abbott (1957-1972, vol. 1, pp. 89 ff) and Al-Samuk (1978, p. 149, 152, 162 n.) as well as n. 119 and 130.

71 Fleischhammer (1979, p. 53); the article is a revised version of chapter 4 of Fleischhammer (1965) = Fleischhammer (2004). Similar views have been voiced by Zolondek (1960, p. 218) and can already be found in Blachère (1952-1966, p. 136).

72 Cf. n. 100.

73 For this and the following, cf. Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, pp. 58 ff.); Vajda (1983, pp. 2 ff.); Ahmed (1968, pp. 93 ff.); Makdisi (1981, pp. 140 ff.); and Weisweiler (1952, p. 8/Arab., 14/Germ.).

74 Makdisi (1981, pp. 10 ff.), Ahmed (1968, pp. 112 ff.).

75 The distinction between these two methods, unknown at an early stage, seems to have been drawn at a later date, cf. Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, pp. 59, 61).

76 Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, pp. 61 ff., 69; vol. 2, p. 29).

77 Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, pp. 9 ff., 194, 196) [=(1971, vol. 2, pp. 22 ff., 181 ff.)].

78 Abbott (1957-1972, vol. 2, pp. 10 ff.).

79 Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, pp. 62 ff.).

80 See Chapter 5.

81 Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, pp. 180, 211 ff., 234, 245 ff.) [=(1971, vol. 2, pp. 168 ff., 195 ff., 216 ff., 226 ff.)]. Cf. also Stauth (1969, pp. 55 ff. and especially 57 ff.).

82 Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, pp. 54 ff.).

83 Goldziher (1890) [=(1971)] placed the first *hadīt* collections (*muṣannafāt*, that is, works systematically arranged into thematic chapters) in the third/ninth century and maintained that they were based mainly on oral sources. His results manifestly exerted considerable influence on the theories of subsequent Orientalists concerning the creation and development of other Islamic sciences (e.g. historiography, philology), cf. U. Sezgin (1971, pp. 3 ff.).

84 Numerous examples in Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, pp. 70 ff.; vol. 2, pp. 29 ff.) and Abbott (1957-1972, vol. 2, pp. 61, especially n. 257); cf. also Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, pp. 197, 212) [=(1971, vol. 2, pp. 183 ff., 196 ff.)].

85 For example, aḍ-Ḏahabī (1963, vol. 2, p. 153), quoting Aḥmad ibn Hanbal and al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 13, p. 475). On the subject, cf. Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 57—against Goldziher); on the individual, ibid., pp. 91 ff. [See W. Raven, art. *Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūba* in EI², vol. 8, p. 853.].

86 For example, Ibn Ḥaǧar al-'Asqalānī (1325-1327 H, vol. 13, p. 475). On the subject, cf. al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 13, p. 475). On the individual, Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 518). [See H. P. Raddatz, art. *Sufyān al-Thawrī* in EI², vol. 9, pp. 770 ff.]

87 For example, Ibn Ḥaǧar al-'Asqalānī (1325-1327 H, vol. 4, p. 113, 115) and al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 13, p. 475). On the subject, cf. Abbott (1957-1972, vol. 2, p. 61, n. 257) and on the individual, ibid., pp. 96 ff. [See R. G. Khoury, art. *Wakī' b. al-Djarrāḥ* in EI², vol. 11, p. 101.].

88 Abū Nuwās (1958, pp. 311, 317). On the subject, cf. Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, p. 197 n. 2) [=(1971, vol. 2, p. 183, n. 5)] and Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 70; vol. 2, pp. 29 ff.); on the individual, cf. ibid., vol. 2, pp. 460 ff.

89 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871-1872, vol. 1, p. 92, l. 5) [= (1970, p. 198)]. On the subject, Blachère (1952-1966, p. 100, especially n. 3); on the individual, Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 366 ff.). [See J. W. Fück, art. *Hammād al-Rāwiya* in EI², vol. 3, p. 136.]

90 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871-1872, vol. 1, p. 69, l. 6) [= (1970, p. 152)]. On the subject, cf. Blachère (1952-1966, p. 100, especially n. 3); on the individual, Sezgin (1967-, vol. 8, pp. 127 ff.). [See Ch. Pellat, art. *Ibn al-A'rābī* in EI², vol. 3, pp. 706 ff.]

91 See n. 84.

92 Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, p. 197) [=(1971, vol. 2, pp. 183 ff.)].

93 Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 70) examines other pieces of evidence studied here.

94 al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 13, p. 475, l. 10 ff.).

95 al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 13, p. 475, l. 21 ff., 5 ff.).

96 Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (1959, p. 173, no. 1374).

97 On the institution of *mudhākarah* (an informal exchange of *hadīts* among students: see Glossary), cf. Ahmed (1968).

98 For example Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, p. 197, n. 3) [=(1971, vol. 2, p. 183, n. 6)].

99 See n. 89 and 90.

100 Cf. also on p. 33 under II. In the early period in particular, the word *kitāb* (pl. *kutub*), unless applied to the Qur'ān, usually only means "something written," "notes," "records," etc. and, in general, does not refer to actual books. Cf. Ullmann *et al.* (1970–, vol. 1, pp. 40 ff., art. *kitāb*); Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, p. 196) [= (1971, vol. 2, pp. 182 ff.)]; Pedersen (1984, p. 12). (The present article shares ■ number of ideas with the chapter "Composition and Transmission of Books" in the aforementioned work. I owe this reference to Professor R. Hillenbrand, Edinburgh.) Cf. also Sellheim, art. *kitāb* in EI², vol. 5, pp. 207 ff. and Sellheim (1961, p. 66). Also Rosenthal (1968, pp. 69, 131 ff.): the earliest Arabic historiographical works were probably "private books, notebooks of scholars"; Horst (1953, p. 307): the sources for at-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* (*Qur'ān Commentary*) were mostly "lecture notes, written down as ■ aide-mémoire."

It should be remembered that the first scholar to deal with the question of the oral versus written transmission of religious tradition in early Islam, A. Sprenger (1869, vol. 3, pp. 93 ff.) already saw matters in a clearer light than later scholars. He writes: "we have to distinguish between aides-mémoire, lecture notebooks and published books."

101 Cf. Pedersen (1984, pp. 20 ff.); Weisweiler (1952, p. 14 and 1951, pp. 34 ff.).
102 ad-Dahabī (1955–1958, vol. 1, p. 409, l. 7; p. 196, l. 14); al-Haṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 7, p. 28, l. 3); Weisweiler (1951, p. 34); Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 67). Interestingly enough, according to these sources, only a few students in Su'bah's course made notes; the rest then copied their records.
103 al-Haṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 13, p. 475, l. 11) (cf. p. 31); Weisweiler (1952, p. 16/Arab.; 1951, p. 34) with these and other names of traditionists who held dictation courses.
104 Weisweiler (1952, p. 16/Arab.).
105 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 63, n. 7) with references.
106 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 95, l. 18 ff.) [= (1970, p. 205)].
107 Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī (1949–1965, vol. 4, p. 318); cf. Rotter (1974, pp. 108, 119, 122); Werkmeister (1983, p. 157).
108 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 69, l. 7) [= (1970, p. 152)]. According to this source, Ibn al-A'rābī also transmitted by way of *qirā'ah* (Ibn an-Nadīm, 1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 69, l. 5) [= (1970, p. 152)].
109 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 74, l. 28) [= (1970, p. 164)].
110 al-Haṭīb al-Baġdādī (1970, pp. 86 ff. and 1974, pp. 111 ff.).
111 al-Haṭīb al-Baġdādī (1974, p. 111). Cf. also Abbott (1957–1972, vol. 2, p. 61); on Wakī', cf. p. 31.
112 Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (1959, p. 146, no. 1153); cf. Abbott (1957–1972, vol. 2, p. 98, n. 24) with additional evidence and also Stauth (1969, p. 71).
113 Stauth (1969, pp. 11, 14 ff.).
114 Cf. Pedersen (1984, p. 33).
115 al-Haṭīb al-Baġdādī (1970, pp. 362 ff.); cf. Abbott (1957–1972, vol. 2, pp. 126 ff.); and Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, pp. 458 ff.) with further references.
116 Weisweiler (1952, p. 8 f./Arab.).
117 al-Haṭīb al-Baġdādī (1970, p. 443); cf. also n. 115.
118 Cf. Abbott (1957–1972, vol. 2, p. 124); Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, pp. 220 ff.) [= (1971, vol. 2, p. 203 ff.)]; Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, pp. 458 ff.); Goldziher and Schacht assert that Mālik authenticated versions of the *Muwaṭṭa'* in a most careless fashion and that only his students edited the text. Sezgin on the other hand argues that Mālik himself produced the book in its entirety. As we have seen above, there is ■ contradiction between these two positions. In this context, Schacht remarks in EI², vol. 6,

p. 264: "But the name *Muwaṭṭa'* ... is ■ guarantee that Mālik wanted to create ■ 'work' in the later sense. ... "

119 al-Haṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 1, pp. 221 ff.). Cf. Fück (1925, p. 33); Abbott (1957–1972, vol. 1, pp. 88 ff.), both with further references; Al-Samuk (1978, pp. 149, 152, 164; also n. 130).
120 Cf. the references given in n. 119.
121 al-Haṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 1, pp. 221, l. 6 ff.).
122 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, pp. 68 ff.) [= (1970, pp. 151 ff.)]; cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, pp. 53 ff.); and Abbott (1957–1972, vol. 1, p. 89). Cf. Chapter 3, pp. 70–71.
123 All the works discussed by Freimark (1967) are actual books.
124 The transmission of texts such as the Qur'ān, and certain grammatical works (e.g. Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*) (*The Book*), which had been passed on as "fixed texts" for some time, could have made an impression as well. They might have contributed to what C. H. M. Versteegh calls "a modified concept of what was regarded as text" (personal communication).
125 Cf. Gottschalk (1936, pp. 288 ff.); Sellheim (1954, pp. 45 ff., 56, 81 ff., 1981, pp. 365 ff.).
126 This distinction is especially sorely missed in Ibn an-Nadīm's *Fihrist*. In expressions such as *wa-la-hū min al-kutub*, the term *kutub* can mean loose notes as well as edited books. In addition, the terms *ṣannafa* and *taṣnīf* (to order systematically, to arrange in chapters, to compose) can relate both to an author of a work as well ■ to later scholars (his or the next generation of students) who redacted the work in question. Some examples: the *Fihrist* labels both al-Madā'inī's collections of traditions (more about them below) and Ibn Qutaybah's books, which were edited by the author himself, ■ *kutub* (Ibn an-Nadīm, 1871–1872, vol. 1, pp. 100 ff., 77 ff.) [= (1970, pp. 220–227, 170 ff.)]. The same applies to Abū 'Ubayd's *Kitāb al-amṯāl* (*The Book of Proverbs*), an actual book, compared to the work of his predecessor Abū 'Ubaydah, which was not ■ book in this sense (Ibn an-Nadīm, 1871–1872, vol. 1, pp. 71, 53) [= (1970, pp. 156, 115)]; cf. also immediately below. Fortunately, there ■■■ ■ few exceptions to this rule in Ibn an-Nadīm. For example, he notes of Hammād ar-Rāwiyah: "People transmitted from him and the books were composed after his death" (*ṣunnifat al-kutub baʿda-hū*) (Ibn an-Nadīm, 1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 92) [= (1970, p. 198)]. Equally interesting is his note about the writings of Nasrān al-Ḥurasānī: "Ibn as-Sikkīt kept Nasrān's books (*kutub*) in his memory (*ḥifẓan*)," while (Abū 'l-Hasan at-Ṭūsī (had them) as *samā'*" (Ibn an-Nadīm, 1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 72) [= (1970, p. 158)]. Thus, Nasrān must have had notes of his works, otherwise the text could not refer to his *kutub* (for another reference to his *kutub*, cf. Ibn an-Nadīm 1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 71, l. 13 [= (1970, p. 156)]). These "books," however, were not available as freely circulated manuscripts. Except for his own records, they existed only in his students' transmission.

Ibn an-Nadīm's following comment on Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī is entirely unambiguous: "he has systematically arranged books, the composition of which he himself took care of ..." (*wa-la-hū min al-kutub al-musannafah allatī tawallā bi-nafsi-hī taṣnīfa-hā*) (Ibn an-Nadīm 1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 140 [= (1970, p. 309)]; cf. also Zolondek 1960, p. 222, n. 74).
127 al-Haṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 12, pp. 404 ff.); cf. Gottschalk (1936, pp. 288 ff.).
128 Brockelmann (1943–1949, suppl. vol. 1, p. 213).
129 Brockelmann (1943–1949, vol. 1, p. 125).
130 al-Mas'ūdī (1965–1979, vol. 5, p. 104, §3146); cf. also al-Mas'ūdī's similar verdict on Ibn Isḥāq's historical work (see p. 34) at al-Mas'ūdī (1965–1979, vol. 5, p. 211, §3446).

131 Werkmeister (1983, pp. 186 ff., 102 ff., 109 ff.).

132 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, pp. 82 ff.) gives a full account of his procedure. The passage in question has been translated by Bellamy (1984, p. 4):

All the isnads of the book, the direct sources of which interest us, ■ pla- ced on index cards, and these cards are arranged according to the ■ of the latest transmitter. Beginning with the first common name, we seek for further common names among the successive members. The last of these gives us the author of the source used in the book in question. For example, if the names of the transmitters are the same only in the first member, and thereafter different, this means that the first man is the author of the source employed, and that his material goes back to ■ variety of sources. If the names are common as far back as the second, third, and further members, this indicates that the first common names give us the transmitters, and the last common name before the branching off gives the author of the source. Once the sources of ■ book have been determined, one can search out the sources of the sources in the same manner with the same cards.

133 Presented first in Sezgin (1956; later also in 1967–, vol. 1, pp. 82 ff.). One of Sezgin's predecessors is J. Wellhausen. On the first pages of his two historical monographs based on at-Tabarī (namely Wellhausen 1899, pp. 3 ff. and 1902, pp. III ff.), he distinguished between the "primary informants," "collectors" (Wellhausen, 1899, p. 4), or "main authorities" of at-Tabarī (Wellhausen, 1902, p. VII) and "mere trans- mitters." Although he did not explicitly set out his procedure, he—following either exact method or his instinct—correctly identified Abū Miḫnaf, Ibn Isḥāq, al-Wāqidī, al-Madā'inī (Wellhausen, 1902, pp. IV ff.), and Sayf ibn 'Umar (Wellhausen, 1899, pp. 3 ff.) as at-Tabarī's "main authorities." All of these are "authors" in Sezgin's sense. Pedersen (in Pedersen 1984, initially published in Danish in 1946), had already described Sezgin's method of isnād analysis in some detail:

That he [sc. Yaḥyā 'bn Ādam] was the actual author [sc. of the Kitāb a-ḫarāǧ (The Book of Land-Tax)] is confirmed by the fact that he cites various autho- rities for his individual statements while the chain Ibn al-Bušrī, as-Sukkarī, aṣ-Ṣaffār, al-'Āmirī is unaltered. Thus, these four simply transmitted Ibn Ādam's book to one another.

(Pedersen, 1984, p. 33, n. 32)

Two other scholars studying the sources of the Kitāb al-aġānī (The Book of Songs) arrived at similar conclusions after, though independently of Sezgin and of ■ ano- ther. Zolondek (1960, p. 223) proposed the terms "major collectors" and "collector sources" for transmitters drawing from a large variety of sources (Sezgin would label them as "authors"). To designate those who relied (mostly) on a single authority, he coined the term "transmitters of collector sources." Fleischhammer (2004, pp. 18 ff., especially n. 14; p. 17) has come to the conclusion that ■ he terms it, "sources ■ a narrow sense" should be kept distinct from "sources in ■ wide sense." The former group corresponds again to Sezgin's "authors," the latter comprises each link ■ chain of transmitters.

In contrast to Sezgin, however, Zolondek and Fleischhammer have not gone ■ far as to identify the "major collectors" or compilers of "sources in a narrow sense" as to ■ authors of written works. Both scholars have consciously steered clear of the question of oral versus written transmission (cf. Zolondek, 1960, p. 222 and Fleischhammer, 2004, p. 16).

134 Cf. Mez (1922, pp. 171 ff.) [= (1937, pp. 178 ff.)] on the transitional phase bet- ween fluid and fixed works. In the field of philology—but not yet in theology—he

posits a "change of approach" in teaching practices for the fourth/tenth century: the replacement of dictations (ʾamālī)—the author only mentions (knows?) this method of transmission—with the exposition of a work (tadrīs). He subsequently attempts to relate the change in teaching practices characterized by the domination of tadrīs to the emergence of madrasahs in the fifth/eleventh century. Mez's conclusions should be reconsidered in the light of new findings on Islamic teaching practices and the rise of the madrasah. See also n. 142.

135 Cf. n. 64.

136 Stauth (1969, pp. 78 ff.); Leemhuis (1981, pp. 170 ff., especially 176, 178).

137 Leemhuis (1981, pp. 170, 178).

138 al-Azraqī (1858).

139 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, pp. 344 ff.).

140 al-Azraqī (1858, pp. 5 ff.).

141 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, pp. 344 ff.).

142 For some of the sciences relying on isnād, the fourth/tenth century seems to have marked the gradual transition from the customary forms of transmission toward the transmission of more or less stable texts. This practice, which had already been the rule for texts such as the Qur'ān and poetry as well as for works belonging to the non-isnād sciences (such as Arabic grammar, for example, Sībawayhi's Kitāb, cf. n. 124) and "foreign" sciences (cf. n. 181), entailed the reading of a text (normally by a student, in the case of poetry by the poet, or his rāwī) and its explanation by the teacher, the poet, or his rāwī with hardly any changes in the text's wording. Regarding the fourth/tenth century transition, cf. n. 134. Information on the maǧālis aš-šuʿarāʾ (gatherings of poets), in which poets explained their dīwāns, can be found in Ahmed (1968, pp. 83 ff.).

Since the commented texts themselves offered enough support for šayḫ's or poet's memory, the commentaries delivered in these gatherings had probably not necessa- rily been fixed in writing. Their explanations might, however, have been jotted down by students on the margin of their manuscript of the text in question and included in the text in a later copy. Thus, the process leads from oral explanations through marginal notes to interlinear commentary, which in the end became an integral part of the text of a manuscript. Cf. Sellheim (1954, pp. 81 ff., 95 ff.), who comments on the glosses to Abū 'Ubayd's Kitāb al-amtāl (Book of Proverbs) and Wagner (1958, pp. 349 ff.), where the comments to as-Sūlī's recension (fourth/tenth century) of Abū Nuwās' Dīwān (Collected Poems) ■ discussed.

143 Cf. Fück (1925, pp. 7, n. 19).

144 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, pp. 113, 114) [= (1970, p. 249)]; cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, pp. 94 ff., no. 8, 29) and especially al-Gumaḥī (1916, p. XIII ff.).

145 Further examples are works with identical or similar titles by al-Madā'inī (d. 228/843 or some years later; cf. Ibn an-Nadīm 1871–1872, vol. 1, pp. 100 ff.) [= (1970, pp. 220–227)] and his transmitter 'Umar Ibn Šabbah (d. 262/875–6 or some years later; cf. Ibn an-Nadīm 1871–1872, vol. 1, pp. 112 ff.) [= (1970, pp. 246 ff.)], cf. Rotter (1974, p. 110); or Abū Miḫnaf (d. 157/774) and Hišām ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), cf. U. Sezgin (1971, pp. 42 ff.; as well as Ma'mar ibn Rašīd (d. 154/770) and 'Abd ar-Razzāq ibn Hammām (d. 211/827), cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 99): "The Tafsīr (Qur'ān Commentary) and Ǧāmiʿ (Compendium) disseminated under his [sc. 'Abd ar-Razzāq's] name are not more than further transmissions [sc. of Ma'mar ibn Rašīd's works], to which he added but ■ few traditions."

More examples can be found in Fück (1925, pp. 6 ff., n. 19); Gibb (1962, pp. 227 ff.); Zolondek (1960, p. 222, n. 74); and Goldfeld (1981, pp. 126 ff., n. 135).

146 Cf. Fück (1925, p. 7, n. 19); Pedersen (1984, p. 23).

147 Horst (1953, p. 307); Stauth (1969, pp. 103 ff., 125 ff and especially 133 ff.).

148 Fleischhammer (2004, pp. 14, 15 ff.).

149 Bellamy (1984, p. 16).

150 Werkmeister (1983, p. 186 ff.).

151 Implicitly done by Horst (1953, pp. 292 ff.); more explicitly by Stauth (1969, p. 104, 88, 99 ff.).

152 In this context, Stauth (1969, p. 104) found (based on Horst) that only this second basic type of source explains the immensely high number of unique ʾisnāds ■ at-Tabarī's Tafsīr (Qurʾān Commentary): 11,364. All in all, at-Tabarī uses 13,026 different ʾisnāds, only 21 of which occur on more than 100 occasions!

153 Cf. Werkmeister (1983, pp. 466 ff.) on collections of traditions traced back to one authority and ibid., p. 348 on large numbers of single traditions as material underlying the lecture courses. Werkmeister does not distinguish between these two basic types as explicitly ■ Stauth does for at-Tabarī. On the transmission of the account of the Barmakids, cf. ibid, pp. 344 ff.; on Bedouin aphorisms, ibid., pp. 305 ff.

154 Cf. p. 36, especially n. 131.

155 Fleischhammer (2004, p. 21, cf. p. 19, point 4.

156 Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 82).

157 This is the subject of Fleischhammer (1979); cf. also Zolondek (1960, pp. 221 ff.) and Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, pp. 378 ff.).

158 Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 380, n. 3). The ʾisnād he refers to occurs ■ Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Isfahānī (1285 H, vol. 10, p. 31):

ʾaḫbara-nī ʿAlī ʾbn Sulaymān (al-Aḫfaš) wa-Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Yazīdī fī Kitāb an-naqāʾid [the author is Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Isfahānī qāla ... as-Sukkarī ʿan Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb ʿan ʾAbī ʿUbaydah.

In *The Book of the Poetic Flytings* [by Abū ʿUbaydah!], ʿAlī ʾbn Sulaymān (al-Aḫfaš) and Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Yazīdī reported to me: as-Sukkarī, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, on the authority of Abū ʿUbaydah, said.

See also Fleischhammer (1979, p. 57, no. 62 and especially p. 61, n. 4; 2004, pp. 16 ff.). Another example is the following ʾisnād in Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Isfahānī (1285 H, vol. 4, p. 17) (cf. Fleischhammer, 2004, p. 16 ff.):

ḥaddata-nā ... at-Tabarī fī 'l-Maġāzī [the author is Ibn Isḥāq!] qāla: ḥaddata-nā Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd qāla: ḥaddata-nā Salamah qāla: ḥaddata-nī Muḥammad ibn ʾIsḥāq qāla: ḥaddata-nī ... az-Zuhrī.

In *The [Book of the] Campaigns* [by Ibn Isḥāq!], at-Tabarī told us: Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd told us: Salamah told us: Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq told me: az-Zuhrī told me.

Also worth mentioning is the following case: Abū 'l-Faraǧ relates that he used ■ book by X as ■ source while X invariably transmits from Y (*nasaḫtu min kitāb ... ʿan ...* "I copied from the Book of ... on the authority of ..."), cf. Fleischhammer (1979, p. 55, no. 27; p. 56, no. 38) and Zolondek (1960, pp. 221 ff.). Here, too, Sezgin has the problem that, as Abū 'l-Faraǧ explicitly informs us, the "transmitter" and not the "author" is the real author of the immediate written source. Since Zolondek and Fleischhammer studiously avoid the question of written or oral transmission, this problem does not affect them (cf. n. 133).

159 Apart from Sezgin, both Zolondek and Fleischhammer have successfully done ■ (cf. n. 133).

160 Cf. Bellamy (1984, p. 16).

161 Bellamy (1984, p. 16).

162 Cf. again Bellamy (1984, p. 16).

163 Cf. Stauth (1969, p. 88).

164 Stauth (1969, p. 88).

165 Cf. Rippin (1984, p. 43).

166 Stauth (1969, p. 88).

167 Cf. U. Sezgin (1971, p. 35) as well as Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 77) and Abbott (1957–1972, vol. 2, p. 63).

168 An extreme example can be found in Sellheim (1976, p. 34). The passage quoted there is taken from Ibn ʿAṭiyah (1954, p. 276) and reads as follows: "wa-amara [sc. al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ] ... al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī) wa-Yaḥyā ʾbn Yaʿmar bi-ḏālika wa-ḏālika ... kitā-ban fī 'l-qirāʾāt ... wa-mašā 'n-nās ʿalā ḏālika zamānan ṭawīlan ʾilā ʾan ʿallafa ʾbn Muǧāhid kitāba-hū fī 'l-qirāʾāt."

On the basis of this passage, Sezgin (1967-, vol. 1, p. 5) lists a Kitāb al-qirāʾāt (The Book of Qurʾān Readings) by Yaḥyā ʾbn Yaʿmar as the oldest book on the subject we know of. Sellheim claims that the phrase wa-ʿallafa refers to al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ rather than the two Qurʾān experts al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Yaḥyā ʾbn Yaʿmar), with the well-known Kitāb al-qirāʾāt (The Book of Qurʾān Readings) by Ibn Muǧāhid. According to him, kitāb should be read ■ the "proclamation" or "decree" of al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ "instructing people how to read the Qurʾān passages in question."

Grammatically, ʾallafa indeed refers to al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ. It nevertheless has to be read as "al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ ordered the composition" (cf. Brockelmann, 1974, §21b; a parallel case in Latin would be *Caesar pontem fecit = Caesar pontem fieri iussit*, "Caesar made the bridge = Caesar ordered the bridge to be built"), so that the two Qurʾān experts can be identified as the real authors of the kitāb and the term here denotes ■ actual book. This follows from the rest of the passage, which deals, similarly with the Kitāb al-qirāʾāt "written" by al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ (i.e. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Yaḥyā ʾbn Yaʿmar), with the well-known Kitāb al-qirāʾāt (The Book of Qurʾān Readings) by Ibn Muǧāhid. The passage should therefore be rendered as follows:

[al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ] ordered ... al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Yaḥyā ʾbn Yaʿmar accordingly and thus caused ... a book on Qurʾān readings to be composed ... in accordance with which the people acted for a long time until Ibn Muǧāhid composed his Book on the Qurʾān Readings.

169 Sellheim (1961, p. 67).

170 The works of Wansbrough (1977) and Rippin (1981, 1984) contain promising attempts to tackle the problem of authenticity. Even more important in this regard are van Ess (1975), Cook (1981), and Juynboll (1983).

171 As van Ess (1975, p. VII) remarks: "the early adoption of written transmission does not necessarily guarantee authenticity."

Goldfeld credits Islamic tradition with ■ high degree of precision in the transmission of works on account of its written basis. Even he has to admit that this did not prevent additions, deletions, revisions, and even tendentious modifications and fluctuations in wording and content. According to Goldfeld, however, these changes are "controlled" by the transmitters, that is, a text which assumes its final form through widespread recognition would never completely (!) lose its original characteristics (cf. Goldfeld, 1981, pp. 126 ff., 135).

172 Cf., for example, Rotter (1974, p. 122), who interpreted passages in which at-Tabarī quoted al-Madāʾinī via wiǧādah as the "real" al-Madāʾinī. Since these and similar passages were "copies of the original," they would display the "highest degree of authenticity" (Rotter, 1974, p. 109).

This is ■ modern concept which aims to restore a source work in its original form (or one of its original forms) from a compilation. It contrasts with the views of at-Tabarī and other contemporary Arabo-Islamic authors: they were not interested

in preserving books in the sense of "works of art," true to their original forms, but intended to provide authenticated traditions (cf. p.37). They therefore preferred texts that they received through reliable transmitters by way of lectures—even though, or perhaps because, their "original" wording had been revised or supplemented with other material—to unauthorized manuscripts, which often lacked diacritics, and could have contained mistakes of copying and of comprehension and lacunae (cf. p. 40).

173 Cf. Ibn Qutaybah (1947, pp. 20 ff.).
174 Cf. Rosenthal (1947, pp. 24 ff.); Pedersen (1984, p. 32); Fleischhammer (2004, p. 16).
175 Cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, pp. 14–33) with references.
176 Al-Ǧurǧānī (1965, p. 15), Ibn Rašīq (1972a, vol. 1, p. 16); cf. Schoeler (1975, p. 5, especially n. 3).
177 Cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, pp. 21 ff.).
178 Cf. Chapter 4, p. 102 and the literature listed in n. 660 (= Schoeler, 1981, vol. 1, n. 132).
179 Cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, p. 27, n. 1). According to Sezgin, ar-Rāfiʿī (1940, vol. 1, pp. 295 ff.) discusses the relation between both riwāyahs (the book was unavailable to me).
180 Bergsträsser (1925, p. 15/Germ., 18/Arab.).
181 The teaching method described by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq in the case of medical instruction in Alexandria and among contemporary Nestorian Christians, that is, qirāʾah, was still employed later for medical and philosophical teaching in Christian Arab and Muslim circles. The Christian physician and philosopher Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043), working at the ʿAḍudī hospital in Baġdād, used to have a student read out a medical "classic"—Galen's epistle To Glaukon—while he himself commented on the text and dictated his comments to his students (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, 1965, p. 323).

In general, qirāʾah seems to have been the predominant form of transmission of knowledge in philosophy and medicine. Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) is said to have "read" Aristotle's Physics forty times (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, 1965, p. 606; cf. Rosenthal 1947, p. 4). Yaḥyā ʾbn ʿAdī (d. 363/973) read before Abū Bišr Mattā (d. 328/940) and al-Fārābī (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, 1965, p. 318); Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1068) read before Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, 1965, p. 325), and so on.

In all likelihood, we have to do here with a direct continuation of late antique medico-philosophical teaching practices. However, this does not preclude methods of learning and teaching in the Islamic sciences having an influence on the methods employed for the "foreign" sciences in later times (second/eighth–the fourth/tenth centuries).

In any case, the details of the Islamic system of transmission affected the image Arabic physicians and philosophers had of the transmission of Greek sciences in antiquity up to their time. Rescher has pointed out that al-Fārābī in his account of the history of logical studies (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, 1965, pp. 604 ff.) provided a form of ʾisnād (or riwāyah) for his own teaching going back to Aristotle. He lists his teacher (Yuḥannā ʾbn Ḥaylān) and mentions Yuḥannā's teacher as well; for the earlier periods, he mentions three successive schools. Oddly, al-Fārābī completely omits the conspicuous achievements of the translator Ḥunayn and his school. [230] Rescher (196), pp. 25 ff.) explains that the philosopher saw logic not ■ matter of books and documents, but ■ living oral tradition of logical specialization and experience which, beginning with Aristotle, was continuously handed down from teacher to student.

Rescher, however, overlooked the fact that, at another place in al-Fārābī's account, we do find references to manuscripts (nusaḫ) (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, 1965, p. 604). Thus, after the conquest of Alexandria, Augustus was said to have ordered that old manuscripts of Aristotelian texts from the time of Aristotle and Theophrastus were to be copied and used for teaching (ʾamara . . .ʾan yakūna ʾ t-taʿlīm min-hā). In other

words (and in our terminology), al-Fārābī's concept of the transmission of logical knowledge in antiquity was identical or at least very similar to the transmission of knowledge in contemporary Islamic sciences: the dissemination of knowledge in lecture courses—orally presented, but based on written records.

182 Schoeler (2002b).
183 On this issue, cf. Chapter 6, pp. 151–152 with n. 1049 ■ well ■ Schoeler (1996a, p. 6 with n. 8); also the index entries under "Literatur der Schule für die Schule" (writings of the school for the school); Schoeler (2002b, p. 71–89 = chapter 5).
184 Günther (1994, pp. 197 ff. and 1994, pp. 11–14).
185 Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (1973–1983, vol. 7, p. 562).
186 Ibn Šabbah (1368 S/1991, vol. 1, p. 133); cf. Schoeler (2002b, p. 114).
187 Landau-Tasseron (2004).
188 Motzki (2003).
189 Calder (1993).
190 Motzki (2003, p. 171).
191 Motzki (2003, p. 196).
192 Cf. the detailed remarks by Schoeler (2002b, p. 130).

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193 Chapter 1 (= Schoeler, 1985). Additional information in Schoeler (1986), my review of Werkmeister (1983), especially p. 127 f.
194 In several publications, Juynboll has labeled such written records ■ "a sort of files" or "dossiers"; cf. Juynboll (1973, 102 f.).
195 While the sources of Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/796), al-Buḫārī (d. 256/870), and aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) never or only rarely included books in the strict sense (syngrammata; for a definition, cf. p. 46), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī (d. 328/940) and Abū ʾl-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967) did have ■ few at their disposal. Apart from their later date, the different literary genres of the works in question might have played a role as well.

Of the written sources Werkmeister identified for Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī's Kitāb al-ʿiqd (The Book of the Necklace), the following are without doubt syngrammata: Abū ʿUbayd's Kitāb al-amtāl (The Book of Proverbs) and aṭ-Ṭabarī's al-Kāmil (The Complete Book). The other supposedly written sources listed by Werkmeister are either unconfirmed in regard to their written character or belong to the category of hypomnēmata (for a definition of the term, cf. immediately below) rather than syngrammata. Cf. Werkmeister (1983, pp. 57 ff. and especially pp. 186 ff.).

For the most part, the written sources listed by Fleischhammer for the Kitāb al-aġānī (The Book of Songs) are also hypomnēmata; however, aṭ-Ṭabarī's Tarīḫ (History), Ibn al-Muʿtazz's Ṭabaqāt aš-šuʿarāʾ (The Classes of the Poets), and ■ few other sources ■ surely syngrammata. Both Werkmeister and Fleischhammer do not distinguish precisely between syngrammata and hypomnēmata. Cf. Fleischhammer (1979, especially no. 4, 68).

196 Cf. Chapter 1, p. 41, especially n. 171 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 226, especially n. 110). In a series of very relevant articles, R. Talmon demonstrated and accounted for the occurrence of manipulations of historical facts and intentional modifications in later "reports" (aḫbār) on early Arab grammarians, much of which was caused by the

later conflict between the "schools" of Baṣrah and Kūfah. Cf. Talmon (1984, 1985, 1986).

197 Praechter (1909, p. 523) [= (1990, p. 38)]; von Arnim (1898, p. 172).
198 von Arnim (1898, pp. 170 ff., especially 181 ff. and 282 ff.).
199 von Arnim (1898, p. 182 f.).
200 von Arnim (1898, p. 175).
201 Praechter (1909, p. 524) [= (1990, p. 38)]; Wendland (1901, pp. 780 ff.).
202 Praechter (1909, p. 523 ff.) [= (1990, pp. 38 ff.)].
203 Richard (1950, pp. 193 ff.).
204 Westerink (1971) with additional references on p. 7, n. 4.
205 Praechter (1909, p. 524) [= (1990, p. 38)]; Richard (1950, p. 192 f., 201) with additional examples on pp. 198 ff.
206 Cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 29); Chapter 1, p. 28 with additional references ▪ n. 64 [= Schoeler, 1985, p. 202 with n. 6).
Further examples can be found in Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 33 f.) [= (1970, p. 75 f.)]: *Tafsīr Nahšal ʿan ad-Daḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim, The Qurʾān Commentary of Nahšal on the Authority of ad-Daḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim* (cf. Sezgin, 1967–, vol. 1, pp. 29 ff.); *Tafsīr ʿIkrimah ʿan Ibn ʿAbbās, The Qurʾān Commentary of ʿIkrimah on the Authority of Ibn ʿAbbās* (cf. Sezgin, 1967–, vol. 1, p. 31 f.); *Kitāb Saʿīd ibn Bašīr ʿan Qatādah, The Book of Saʿīd ibn Bašīr on the Authority of Qatādah* (cf. Sezgin, 1967–, vol. 1, p. 26); *Tafsīr Muhammad ibn Tawr ʿan Maʿmar* (cf. Sezgin, 1967–, vol. 1, p. 290 f.) *ʿan Qatādah, The Qurʾān Commentary of Muḥammad ibn Tawr on the Authority of Maʿmar ... on the Authority of Qatādah.*
207 Cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, pp. 99, 290); see also Schoeler (1986, p. 126) More examples in Chapter 1, pp. 36–37, especially p. 37, n. 145 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 216 ff., especially p. 219, n. 83)
208 Praechter (1909, p. 524) [= (1990, p. 38)].
209 Praechter (1909, p. 525) [= (1990, p. 40)].
210 Cf. Ullmann et al. (1970–, vol. 1, pp. 36, 1.32 ff.); Abbott (1957–1972, vol. 2, p. 61 f.).
211 Praechter (1909, p. 528 f.) [= (1990, p. 44)].
212 Praechter (1909, p. 525) [= (1990, p. 39)].
213 Westerink (1971, p. 8) describes a typical session under Olympiodorus (d. after 565) and his students as follows:

the text under discussion ... was divided into *perikopai* (sections) of ca. two to four pages; in a lecture, each section was prefaced with an extensive introduction (*theōria*), then read and commented on (this step was sometimes called *lexis*; this term could, however, also refer in general to the section under discussion).... Almost without exception, the *theōria* is the m▪ part of the lecture. The discussion of the text ... could ... [sometimes] be dropped.

Teaching methods at late antique rhetorical and law schools—especially the law school of Beirut (c. 200–551 CE)—in the fifth and the first half of the sixth centuries must have borne strong resemblances to the almost contemporary philosophical teaching methods in Alexandria. At both institutions, works of a "classic" were commented on; *theōria* in Alexandria corresponded to *protheōria* in Beirut and *lexis* ▪ the former was comparable to *paragraphē* in the latter. Cf. Collinet (1925, pp. 245 ff.) on legal instruction in Beirut.

The form of the teachers' commentaries in Beirut at that time was similar to the practice long followed by all of the Greek teachers ▪

the schools of rhetoric.... The legal method practised in the Orient contained ... traditional procedures of the Greek schools: commentary based on passages or words deemed essential in ▪ text. The lecture course consisted ... in commenting on (or in glossing) in succinct phrases the passages or most prominent words of the classical work under discussion.... These brief remarks formed the *paragraphai*.... The professors briefly announced the contents of the title or chapter to be commented on. Such announcements were called *protheōriai*.

Interestingly, teaching methods employed before the period under discussion were completely different: in the fourth century, the professors did not comment on texts at Beirut. Rather, they gave "casuistic" lessons and "dogmatic" instruction (Collinet, 1925, p. 220).

214 Zimmermann (1981, p. CIII) remarks: "Our evidence suggests that, after Stephanus, commentaries took the form of marginal notes." Cf. also Hein (1985, p. 24).
We could speculate that teaching in rhetorical and law schools in the seventh century (the Beirut school of law had been closed at that point) took a downward turn similar to that in Alexandria: commentaries become marginal glosses.
215 Cf. Staub (1969, p. 140 f.). The individual exegetical *hadīt* in Muǧāhid's commentary mostly took the following form: »*isnād* (chain of authorities)—*fī qawli-hi/fī qawl Allāh*, "in his words/in the words of Allāh" (followed by the relevant Qurʾānic quote)—*yaqūlu/yarnī*, "he says/that is" (followed by the commentary).
216 A direct dependency is claimed by Meyerhof (1930, p. 399), who writes:

The school system in this [sc. Alexandrian] form survived in both Orient and Occident throughout the Middle Ages, indeed in the Islamic Orient until today. We only have to enter one of the great mosques functioning as theological schools to see Alexandrian teaching practices face-to-face; a student reads out part of a classical work to the teacher, who adds his questions and comments.

However, see our comments on the differences between the two teaching systems above.

217 Cf. Baumstark (1922, pp. 101 ff. on the Nestorians and especially pp. 166 ff. on the Jacobites; several Jacobite scholars, Sergius of Rēšʿaynā among them, were educated in Alexandria); O'Leary (1979, pp. 52, 61, and 66 ff. on Nestorians, and pp. 83 f. and especially 91 ff., 95 on Jacobites). Cf. also Gutas (1983, especially p. 255); Vööbus (1965, pp. 179 ff.). See also n. 223.
218 We at least know that in the school of Nisibis, two important aspects of the later Islamic system were already of common occurrence: lecture notes becoming literary works at a later stage (e.g. the treatises of Thomas of Edessa, cf. Baumstark, 1922, p. 121) as well as the reading out of a text by a student before a teacher (the school statutes of 496 mention "reading before ▪ physician," cf. Baumstark, 1922, p. 114; for the Syriac and Arabic texts in question, cf. Ruska 1897, p. 10). In spite of its continued existence after the Islamic conquest, Nisibis probably did not exert any direct influence on teaching practices in Baġdād—it was mediated by Gondēšāpūr. Cf. O'Leary (1979, p. 67).
219 Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī (1398/1978, vol. 1, p. 240, no. 63; p. 248 f., no. 66; p. 290 f., no. 94 f.). Cf. EI¹, vol. 3, p. 409 ff., art. *masǧid* (J. Pedersen).
220 See Chapter 1, p. 42 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 228).
221 See also Chapter 1, p. 42 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 228). The Jewish influence on the Islamic *hadīt* system needs to be researched in greater detail.

222 Bergsträsser (1925, p. 15/Germ., 18/Arab.), Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (1965, p. 151) reports: "These Alexandrians used to... meet each day to read (qirāʾah) and interpret a portion (šaqr) of it" [sc. the 16 summaries, annotated abridgements of certain Galenic works]. In his Kitāb miftāḥ aṭ-ṭibb (The Book of the Key to Medicine), Ibn Hindū writes: "The Alexandrians followed the custom of reading them [sc. the 16 summaries] out in their lecture circle (maǧlis taʿlīmī-him), which is called uškil (scholē)" (Zetterstéen 1920, p. 8; cf. also Versteegh, 1989, p. 291 and pp. 53).

223 Cf. EI², vol. 2, p. 1119 f., art. Gondēshāpūr (A. Sayili). O'Leary (1979, p. 68 f.) points out that

in the city of Jundi-Shāpūr... the Alexandrian curriculum was introduced and the same books of Galen read and lectured upon as at Alexandria... Obviously the courses followed at Alexandria were in great repute and were generally regarded ■ the model for a secular education.

Ullmann (1970, p. 22) remarks: "the school model of Gondēšāpūr with its connection between theoretical and clinical instruction became the model for the foundation of Islamic hospitals."

224 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (1965, p. 257) reports on the authority of Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ad-Dāyah (d. c.265/878): "Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, the translator, read before Yūḥannā 'bn Māsawayhi the book [of Galen] on The Schools of Medicine."

225 Cf. on this issue Meyerhof (1930) and the doubts expressed by Zimmermann (1981, pp. 103 ff.) and Gutas (1983, p. 255).

Peters (1968, pp. 71–78, especially pp. 72, 74) has claimed that philosophical instruction in Baǧdād before the year 900 (arrival in town of the remnants of the Ḥarrānian teaching tradition, themselves successors to the Alexandrian tradition) was, unlike medical instruction, mainly private in nature. Consequently, the tradition of personal instruction in philosophy would only have started with the chain Yūḥannā 'bn Ḥaylān—al-Fārābī and Quwayrī/Abū Yaḥyā 'l-Marwazī—Abū Bišr Mattā. It is true that we know nothing in this respect about Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, who was only reported to have attended the medical maǧālis of Yūḥannā 'bn Māsawayhi (correctly noted by Peters, 1968, p. 74; cf. our n. 224). On the other hand, Ibn ad-Dāyah explicitly mentions that he himself had read logic before Yūḥannā 'bn Māsawayhi: wa-azhartu la-hu 'r-talmadah fi qirāʾat kutub al-manṭiq ʿalay-hi, "and I studied with him, reading books of logic before him" (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, 1965, p. 247).

226 As Versteegh (1989, p. 291 f.) recently demonstrated, we have to draw a sharp distinction between the fields of grammar (in the strict sense; "linguistics") and philology (including lexicography). This distinction, already made by early Arabic scholars and manifest in the existence and use of the terms naḥw and luġah, often enough extends to the exponents of the respective fields. In the bibliographical literature, we frequently find descriptions such as:

the most excellent of them [sc. of the four previously mentioned scholars] in grammar (naḥw) was Sībawayhi [d. c. 180/796]; an-Naḍr ibn Šumayl [d. 203/819] concentrated mostly on lexicography (luġah); Muʾarriǧ al-ʿIǧlī [d. after 204/819] on poetry and lexicography (as-Sīrāfī, 1936, p. 49).

Finally, we do not hear anything about the teachers al-Kindī read before (as Peters, 1968, p. 74 points out); he might have been ■ autodidact. But al-Kindī himself taught philosophy: as-Saraḫsī "read before him and took from him" (Ibn an-Nadīm, 1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 261) [= (1970, p. 626)].

According to Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Ǧumaḥī (d. 231/845 or 232/846),

Ibn Abī Isḥāq [d. 117/735 or 127/745] was better with qiyās [the rules: grammatical analogical deductions], whereas Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ [d. ca. 154/770-1 or 157/774] knew more about the kalām (the speech or language) of the (pure) Arabs and their rare words. (Zetterstéen 1920, p. 8; cf. also Versteegh, 1989, p. 291 and pp. 53).

227 On the other hand, many scholars were active in both fields, for example, al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. between 160/776 and 175/791) (see Chapter 6), al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898 or 286/899), Ṯaʿlab (d. 291/904). The works, however, can almost always be assigned to one of the two categories. Those on grammar in the strict sense (syntax, morphology, phonetics, linguistic principles, grammatical methodology, etc.) are obviously in the minority. As far as ■ I can see, there is some overlap in the maǧālis and ʾamālī literature. Topics treated in a maǧlis could of course come from both the fields of philology and lexicography on the one hand and grammar on the other.

Below, we will see that the distinction between grammar and philology outlined above also corresponded to different teaching practices.

Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 41) [= (1970, p. 92)]; as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 31 f.); az-Zubaydī (1973, p. 23); al-Marzubānī (1964, p. 58); Abū 't-Ṭayyib al-Luġawī (1955, p. 23); cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 9, pp. 37 ff.) with additional references.

According to Abū 't-Ṭayyib al-Luġawī (1955, p. 23), who reports on the authority of Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898 or 286/899) claimed to have read sheets from one of the two books by ʿĪsā 'bn ʿUmar (d. 149/766); as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 31 f.), though, states that neither he nor anybody else has ever ■ the books in question.

228 Sībawayhi (1966–1977).

229 Reuschel (1959, p. 8; cf. also Sezgin (1967–, vol. 9, p. 53).

230 Cf. p. 52.

231 On this issue, cf. Reuschel (1959, p. 9–14; cf. also Troupeau (1961). On second-hand quotations in the Kitāb, cf. Versteegh (1983).

232 As Sezgin (1967–, vol. 9, p. 36) also concedes.

233 Reuschel (1959, p. 11).

234 Abū 't-Ṭayyib al-Luġawī (1955, p. 65); al-Marzubānī (1964, p. 58).

235 Cf. the long list of works in Sezgin (1967–, vol. 9, p. 58–63); cf. also Versteegh (1987, p. 154 f.): "One could almost say that the entire tradition was based on one text, the Kitāb, which was subjected to a constant process of comment and explanation."

236 al-Marzubānī (1964, p. 95); as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 50).

237 al-Marzubānī (1964, p. 95); as-Zubaydī (1973, p. 23); as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 52) [= (1970, p. 114)]; Zetterstéen (1920, p. 18; cf. also Sezgin (1967–, vol. 9, p. 52 f.).

238 Most of the notes are given in Sībawayhi (1966–1977).

239 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 52) [= (1970, p. 114)]; as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 50).

240 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 52) [= (1970, p. 114)]; as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 50).

241 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 59) [= (1970, p. 128)]; az-Zubaydī (1973, p. 101). Cf. also the riwāyah (introductory ʾisnād) at the beginning of Sībawayhi's Kitāb in Hārūn's edition (Sībawayhi, 1966–1977, p. 3 f., 10 f.).

242 al-Marzubānī (1964, p. 95); Abū 't-Ṭayyib al-Luġawī (1955, p. 84); as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 51).

243 Abū 't-Tayyib al-Lugawī (1955, p. 87).

244 az-Zubaydī (1973, p. 142).

245 The reports above, especially the first two, display a very strong pro-Basrah bias. They probably date from a time when the schools of Basrah and Kūfah became competitors; they are scarcely historical and did probably not emerge before AD 900. They are intended to explain the strange fact (from the perspective of the two schools' competition with each other) that the Basrian Sībawayhi's book was regarded ■ fundamental and used even in Kūfah. On that issue, cf. the articles by Talmon (especially 1986, p. 158 f.).

246 Sībawayhi (1966–1977, p. 3 f., 10 f.).

247 Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, p. 192) [= (1971, vol. 2, p. 178 f.)]; see also Chapter 1, p. 179, n. 142 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 218, n. 80).

248 For example, the *Tafsīr Muǧāhid* (*The Qurʾān Commentary of Muǧāhid*), cf. Stauth (1969, pp. 3–16).

249 This of course does not completely exclude other transmission methods, cf. pp. 57–58.

250 al-Marzubānī (1964, p. 174).

251 Ahmed (1968, pp. 54, 154); Versteegh (1987, p. 92 and 1989, p. 295).

252 Reuschel (1959, p. 10).

253 Reuschel (1959, p. 9, 63 f.).

254 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 9, p. 46).

255 In as-Suyūṭī (n.d, vol. 1, p. 80 f.).

256 Cf. p. 49.

257 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 51) [= (1970, p. 111)]; as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 48).

258 Zetterstéen (1920, p. 18).

259 Abū 't-Tayyib al-Lugawī (1955, p. 65); al-Marzubānī (1964, p. 58).

260 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 42) [= (1970, p. 93)]; as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 38).

261 Cf. n. 237.

262 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 51) [= (1970, p. 111)]; al-Marzubānī (1964, p. 95); Abū 't-Tayyib al-Lugawī (1955, p. 66); as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 50).

263 Zetterstéen (1920, p. 18).

264 al-Marzubānī (1964, p. 58); Abū 't-Tayyib al-Lugawī (1955, p. 65).

265 This idea is based on a letter from Professor Manfred Ullmann (December 6, 1985).

266 Cf. Sībawayhi (1966–1977, vol 1, p. 23).

267 as-Sīrāfī (1936, p. 50).

268 This does not conflict with az-Zubaydī's verdict quoted immediately above: that al-Halīl never wrote ■ single word on grammar or composed a draft refers to ■ (hypothetical) *book* (syngramma).

We should also keep in mind the following dictum ascribed to al-Halīl: "I wrote down all I 'heard' and I kept in my memory all I wrote down" (*mā samiʿtu šayʾan ʾillā katabtu-hū wa-lā katabtu šayʾan ʾillā hafiztu-hū*) (al-Hatīb al-Bagdādī 1974, p. 114 f.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr n.d., vol 1, p. 77).

269 To use the expression coined by Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, p. 197) [= (1971, vol. 2, p. 183)].

270 as-Suyūṭī (n.d., vol. 1, p. 81).

271 Werkmeister (1983, p. 103 f.).

272 Versteegh (1987, p. 93; 1989, p. 291).

273 Zetterstéen (1920, p. 8); cf Versteegh (1989, p. 291 f.).

274 Zetterstéen (1920, p. 12); cf. Versteegh (1989, p. 291).

275 Versteegh (1989, p. 291 f.).

276 Abū Zayd al-Ansārī (1387/1967).

277 A number of quotations from the *Kitāb an-nawādir* confirm that the so-called "oral" and "written" transmission in philological teaching institutions ■ parallel to and

supplemented each other in a manner similar to that observed in the case of *hadīt* scholars, historians, and so on (cf. Chapter 1, pp. 40–41 = Schoeler 1985, pp. 224 ff.): the book's redactor al-Ahfas al-Asgar (d. 315/927), who contributed large quantities of material to the work—his own opinions ■ well as views of other scholars he transmits—frequently remarks on readings of obscure names or words ■ follows: *hākadā waqaʿa fī kitābī: Salmā; wa-hifzī: Sulmayyūn*" (Abū Zayd al-Ansārī, "in my book, I have Salmā and in my memory: Sulmayyūn" (Abū Zayd al-Ansārī, 1387/1967, p. 121); *kadā* [sc. Nuhayk] *waqaʿa fī kitābī; wa-hifzī: Nahik*, "this [sc. Nuhayk] is in my book; in my memory: Nahik" (Abū Zayd al-Ansārī, 1387/1967, p. 112); *al-masmūʿ: ʿayhalun; wa-ǧāʾa fī 's-sifr: ʿayhallun*, "what I 'heard' is ʿayhalun, but in the poem, ʿayhallun occurs" (Abū Zayd al-Ansārī, 1387/1967, p. 53); *hākadā waqaʿa fī kitābī... wa-tashālī; wa-anā ʾunkiru-hū wa-hifzī:... wa-tasʿālī*, "this is in my book.... wa-tashālī; but I reject it, because I have in my memory:... wa-tasʿālī" (Abū Zayd al-Ansārī, 1387/1967, p. 26); cf. also ibid., p. 168.

278 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, p. 38).

279 Taʿlab (1956).

280 az-Zaǧǧāǧī (1962).

281 az-Zaǧǧāǧī (1382/1963).

282 al-Qālī (n.d.).

283 as-Suyūṭī (n.d, vol, 1, p. 144).

284 aš-Šaybānī (1974–1975); Sezgin (1967–, vol. 8, p. 121 f.); Diem (1968).

285 Abū 't-Tayyib al-Lugawī (1955, p. 91 f.).

286 Abū 't-Tayyib al-Lugawī (1955, p. 93).

287 Abū 't-Tayyib al-Lugawī (1955, p. 94).

288 The Tāhirids ■ meant, namely ʿAbd Allāh ibn Tāhir (d. 230/844), cf. Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 71) [= (1970, p. 156)]; al-Hatīb al-Bagdādī (1931, vol. 12, p. 404, l. 16 f.); cf. also Gottschalk (1936, pp. 274 ff.).

289 Gottschalk (1936, p. 289); the quotation is taken from his article on *Abū ʿUbayd* in EI², vol. 1, p. 157; cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 8, p. 81).

290 According to other sources, the *Kitāb al-ġarīb al-muṣannaf* depends on an-Nadr ibn Šumayl's (d. 203/819) (lost) *Kitāb aṣ-ṣifāt* (*The Book of Attributes*); cf. Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 52) [= (1970, p. 113)]; also Ibn Durustawayhi in al-Hatīb al-Bagdādī (1931, vol. 12, p. 404); cf. Gottschalk (1936, p. 284 f.); Sezgin (1967–, vol. 8, p. 82).

291 Abū 't-Tayyib al-Lugawī (1955, p. 93).

292 Abdel-Tawab (1962, especially pp. 130–135).

293 Abdel-Tawab (1962, p. 84 ff.).

294 Abdel-Tawab (1962, p. 130).

295 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 8, p. 83).

296 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 8, p. 82 and vol. 4, p. 334).

297 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 8, p. 75, no. 6).

298 In Haffner (1905, pp. 66–136 and 137–157).

299 Abdel-Tawab (1962, p. 88).

300 Zetterstéen (1920, p. 14).

301 Abū ʿUbayd, 1384–1387/1964–1967, pt 1, p. 1, n. 1:

haddata-nā ʾAhmad ibn Hammād, qāla: qāla la-nā ʿAlī 'bn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, qāla: samiʿtu hādā 'l-kitāb qirāʾatan ʿalā Abī ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām ġayr marrah wa-saʾaltu-hū: yurwā ʿan-hu mā quriʾa ʿalay-ka? fa-qāla: naʿam.

Ahmad ibn Hammād reported to us: ʿAlī 'bn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said to us: I 'audited' this book through reading it before Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn

Sallām more than once and I asked him, "Can what has been read before
you be transmitted [sc. by me]?" and he answered, "Yes."

This is a Rampur manuscript. Cf. also ibid., p. xv.

302 Quoted after Sellheim, 1954, p. 83 f.:

*(waǧadtu fī) ʾl-aṣl alladī ʿaraḍtu bi-hī hāḏā ʾl-kitāb mā sūratu-hū: (kataba)
ḥāṭtī ʾn-nushah bi-ḫaṭṭi-hī ʿAlī ʾbn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz kātib ʾAbī ʿUbayd
al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (wa-ḫaṭṭa maqrūʾah musaḥḥaḥah ʿalā ʾaṣl ʾAbī ʿUbayd
alladī bi-ḫaṭṭi-hī.—ṯumma ṣuḥḥiḥat bi-qirāʾat ʾAbī Bakr Muḥammad ibn
al-ʾAnbārī.*

(I found in) the original which I collated with this book [a statement which
took] the following form: 'Alī 'bn 'Abd al-'Azīz the scribe of Abū 'Ubayd
al-Qāsim ibn Sallām wrote this copy in his own hand: it has been read
and corrected on the basis of the original which is in the hand of Abū
'Ubayd: then it was corrected in accordance with the reading of Abū Bakr
Muḥammad ibn al-Anbārī.

The manuscript in question is Ms. Feyzullah 1587.

303 Quoted after Abū 'Ubayd, 1384–1387/1964–1967, vol. 1, p. 1 f.:

*ʾaḫbara-nī... ʾAbū ʾṭ-Ṭayyib Ṭāhir ibn Yaḥyā 'bn ʾAbī ʾl-Ḫayr al-ʿImrā-
nī qirāʾatan ʿalay-hi, qāla: ʾaḫbara-nī ʾabī Yaḥyā 'bn ʾAbī ʾl-Ḫayr...
qirāʾatan ʿalay-hi ġayr marrah, qāla: ʾaḫbara-nā ʾl-Ḥasan...
al-Fārisī qirāʾatan ʿalay-hi, qāla: ʾaḫbara-nā ʾIsmāʿīl ibn Maḫlūl, qā-
la: ʾaḫbara-nā Muḥammad ibn ʾIsḥāq, qāla: ʾaḫbara-nā...ʾAbū Bakr
Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr aš-Šahrazūrī, qāla: ʾaḫbara-nā ʿAbd Allāh ibn
ʾAḥmad al-Faraḍī (?), qāla: ʾaḫbara-nā Daʿlaǧ ibn ʾAḥmad, qāla: ʾaḫbara-
nā...ʾAbū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī 'bn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz... qāla: qāla: ʾAbū ʿUbayd.*

Abū ʾṭ-Ṭayyib Ṭāhir ibn Yaḥyā 'bn Abī ʾl-Ḫayr al-ʿImrānī informed me,
during reading before him: My father Yaḥyā 'bn Abī ʾl-Ḫayr al-ʿImrānī
informed me, during reading before him more than once: Zayd ibn
al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī informed me, during reading before him: Ismāʿīl ibn
Maḫlūl informed us: Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq informed us: Abū Bakr
Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr aš-Šahrazūrī informed us: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad
al-Faraḍī informed us: Daʿlaǧ ibn Aḥmad infored us: Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī
'bn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz informed us: Abū ʿUbayd said.

A manuscript from Madras.

304 Quoted after Adbel-Tawab, 1962, p. 36:

*haddata-nā ʾAbū ʿAlī ʾIsmāʿīl ibn al-Qāsim al-Baġdādī, qāla: qaraʾtu hāḏā
ʾl-kitāb ʿalā ʾAbī Bakr Muḥammad... Ibn al-Anbārī sanat 317, [haddata-]
nā ʾAbū Bakr qirāʾatan ʿalay-hi, qāla: haddata-nī ʾabī, qāla: qaraʾnā ʿalā
ʾAbī ʾl-Ḥasan at-Ṭūsī ʿAlī 'bn ʿAbd Allāh bi-Surra-man-raʾā, qāla: qāla
ʾAbū ʿUbayd.*

Abū ʿAlī Ismāʿīl ibn Qāsim al-Baġdādī reported to us: I read this book
before Abū Bakr Muḥammad... al-Anbārī in the year 317: Abū Bakr repor-
ted to us during reading before him: my father reported to us: we read [this]
before Abū ʾl-Ḥasan at-Ṭūsī ʿAlī 'bn ʿAbd Allāh in Sāmarrāʾ and he said:
Abū ʿUbayd said.

The manuscript is Ms Escorial, 1650.

Quoted after Adbel-Tawab, 1962, p. 36:

*Kitāb al-ġarīb al-muṣannaf, taʾlīf ʾAbī ʿUbayd...riwāyat...ʾAbī
ʾl-Ḥusayn Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin ibn Hilāl al-Kātib, ʿan ʾAbī Bakr ʾAḥmad
ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ an-naḥwī, ʿan ʾAbī Bakr Muḥammad ibn
al-Qāsimibn Baššār an-naḥwī ʿan ʾabī-hi ʿan al-Ḥasan ʾan ʾAbī
ʿUbayd...*

The Book of Uncommon [Vocabulary], Arranged Systematically, com-
posed by Abū ʿUbayd...transmitted by...Abū ʾl-Ḥusayn Hilāl ibn al-
Muḥassin ibn Hilāl the Scribe, on the authority of Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn
Muḥammad ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ the Grammarian, on the authority of Abū Bakr
Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Baššār the Grammarian on the authority of his
father on the authority of al-Ḥasan on the authority of Abū ʿUbayd.

This is from Ms Fātiḥ 4008.

305 Quoted after the facsimile edition Abū ʿUbayd 1985, p. 2:

*ʾaḫbara-nā ʿAlī 'bn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baġdādī bi-Makkah sanat 284, qāla:
haddata-nā ʾAbū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, qāla:*
ʿAlī 'bn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baġdādī informed us in Mecca in the year 284
(AD 897): Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām reported to us.

This text is now edited by J. Burton [= Abū ʿUbayd (1987)]; the edition is based on
the manuscript Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III, 143.

As ▮ rule, the term ʾaḫbara-nā (he informed us) indicates qirāʾah (reading),
haddata-nā (he reported to us) points to samāʿ (audition).

306 I am unsure whether the Kitāb an-nāsiḫ wa-ʾl-mansūḫ (cf. n. 305), is ▮ syngramma
of Abū ʿUbayd. The ʾisnāds for separate traditions are uniform throughout the work:
ʾaḫbara-nī ʿAlī ['bn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz] qāla: haddata-nā ʾAbū ʿUbayd, qāla: haddata-nā.
"[The Book of the Abrogating and the Abrogated]... Alī ['bn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz] infor-
med us: Abū ʿUbayd reported to us: he reported to us." They rather suggest that Abū
ʿUbayd's student ʿAlī 'bn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz or one of ʿAlī 'bn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's students
edited the work.

307 al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 12, p. 407 f.), Cf Gottschalk (1936, p. 279 f.);
due to a mistranslation, Gottschalk in my opinion missed the point of the two
anecdotes.

308 Cf. n. 303 ff; see also al-Azharī's remarks regarding the transmission of the works
by Abū ʿUbayd he used (Zetterstéen, 1920, 19 f.).

309 Sezgin (1967—, vol. 8, p. 83 f.).
310 Sezgin (1967—, vol. 8, p. 86 f.).
311 Sezgin (1967—, vol. 8, p. 84 f.), Sellheim (1954, pp. 95 ff.) explained how al-Bakrī's
commentary on the Kitāb al-amṯāl developed out of marginal glosses, supplements,
etc. (derived from the lecture tradition) in manuscripts al-Bakrī used.
312 Cf. p. 48.
313 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (1965, p. 323); cf. Chapter 1, p. 261, n. 181 (= Schoeler, 1985,
p. 229, n. 121).
314 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (1965, p. 323).
315 Best known is the following chain: Aws ibn Ḥaǧar—Zuhayr—Kaʿb ibn Zuhayr—
al-Ḥuṭayʾah—Hudbah ibn Ḫašram—Ǧamīl—Kuṯayyir; cf. Sezgin (1967—, vol. 2,
p. 22) with references.
316 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (1965, p. 324): *Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib ʾaḫada ʿan Ibn al-Ḥammār*, "Ibn
aṭ-Ṭayyib "took" [knowledge] from ibn al-Ḥammār."
317 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (1965, p. 428).

318 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (1965, p. 318).

319 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (1965, p.317); Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 263) [=(1970, p. 630)].

320 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (1965, p. 325).

321 al-Qifṭī (1903, p. 314 f.). The qirāʿah-note runs as follows: qaraʿa ʿalayya hādā ʾl-kitāb min ʾawwali-hī ʾilā ʾāḫiri-hī ʾš-Šayḫ...ʾAbū ʾl-Ḥasan al-Muḫtār ibn al-Ḥasan...wa-fahima-hū ġāyat al-fahm, wa-kataba ʿAbdallāh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, "The Šayḫ...Abū ʾl-Ḥasan al-Muḫtār ibn al-Ḥasan read this book from start to finish before me...and he understood it completely. ʿAbd Allāh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib wrote [sc. this note]."

322 Schacht and Meyerhof (1937, pp. 50–53, Arab.; 83–86, Engl.); cf. also Schacht (1936, p. 538 f.) and Schacht and Meyerhof (1937b).

323 The translation provided by Schacht and Meyerhof is not quite correct; this is ▪ ▬ precise rendering.

324 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (1965, p. 563); cf. Schacht and Meyerhof (1937a, p. 12 ff.); Schacht (1936, pp. 530–535).

325 Chapter 1, p. 42 (= Schoeler 1985, p. 227 f.).

326 Zettersteen (1920, p. 32).

327 Spies (1968, p. 33a–b).

328 Cf. p. 48.

329 Cf. p. 58.

330 Vajda (1956, p. V). He lists five samāʿ notes in medical manuscripts, cf. Vajda (1956, pp. 37 ff., nos XXXVI–XL). In comparison, he finds 24 such notes in traditionist literature, four each in legal, grammatical and exegetical works and one in a philosophical work. Cf. Dietrich (1966, p. 33, no. 11; p. 84, no. 30; pp. 183 ff., no. 87). See also the following footnote.

331 Dietrich (1966, p. 221, no. 112; pp. 224 ff., no. 113; p. 229, no. 115; p. 232, no. 117). Interestingly, no. 113 deals with an author (one Zakarīyāʾ al-Marāġī), who read his own work, a short booklet on the fundamentals of medicine, before his teacher ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī and had its reading authenticated by him. The permission to transmit (if the term is still applicable at that stage) a medical work could be given at this time not only by the author or an authorized transmitter, but by any other authority in the field.

332 On this point, cf. Schoeler (1996a, pp. 27 ff. and 2002, pp. 43 ff.).

333 Strohmaier (1987, p. 387).

334 Cf. p. 49. See Schoeler (2002b, p. 96 f.).

3 WRITING AND PUBLISHING: ON THE USE
AND FUNCTION OF WRITING IN EARLY ISLAM

I am very grateful to my colleague at the Universität Basel, the classicist Prof. Dr Joachim Latacz. In the ninth minute, he improved my understanding of the *Phaedrus* passage discussed in this article and indicated to me the most recent scholarly material of relevance.

335 al-Ǧāḥiẓ (1965, vol. 1, p. 69).

336 For the following, cf. Serjeant (1983, p. 114 f., 128–140).

337 Cf. pp. 82–83.

338 Ibn Hišām (1955, vol. 1, p. 501 f.) [=(1967, pp. 231 ff.)]; the German translation can be found in Wellhausen (1889b); cf. also Serjeant (1983, p. 134–139); Rubin (1985); Lecker (2004).

339 Ibn Hišām (1955, vol. 2, pp. 317 ff.) [=(1967, p. 504 f.)].

340 Ibn Saʿd (1904–1906, vol. 1, pt 2, pp. 15–38); cf. n. 512. Cf. also Lecker (2005).

341 Qays ibn al-Ḫaṭīm (1962, p. 64, v. 23).

342 Apparently, literacy was less widespread in Medina than in Mecca before Islam. On the authority of al-Wāqidī, al-Balāḏurī lists eleven literate tribesmen from the Aws and Ḫazraǧ (apart from "a number of Jews who had learned how to write Arabic"). Among them, however, we find personalities who played such an important role in the written recording of the Qurʾān such as Zayd ibn Ṯābit and Ubayy ibn Kaʿb; see al-Balāḏurī (1865–1866, p. 473 f., the last page of the work). Cf. Endress's chapter on the Arabic script in Fischer (1982, vol. 1, p. 171, n. 40) with further references.
It remains to be ascertained whether the reference to *suḥuf* by the Medinese poet Qays ibn al-Ḥaṭīm (see above) contradicts the alleged scarcity of literate people in contemporary Medina.

343 Ḥassān ibn Ṯābit (1971, vol. 2, pp. 16 ff.). Cf. Serjeant (1983, p. 129); al-Asad (1978, p. 171).

344 Ibn Hišām (1955, vol. 1, p. 350) [= (1967, p. 159)]. Cf. Serjeant (1983, p. 131).

345 However, Nöth (1973, p. 62) [=(1994, p. 65)] has only found four such cases in his study of the treaties Muslims concluded with conquered peoples during the phase of territorial expansion.

346 Ibn Hišām (1955, vol. 2, p. 317); Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 1, p. 12).

347 In this case as well as for other cultural phenomena, we find parallels between Arab and Germanic antiquity: in numerous runic inscriptions, the scribes self-confidently recorded their own names (with the so-called "rune master formulae"), for example, "Hariuha is my name." Cf. von See (1971, p. 109).

348 See p. 83.

349 In this context, we should mention the legend—attested insufficiently and very late (only in the fourth/tenth century)—that the famous ancient Arabic *qaṣīdahs* (polythematic odes) called *al-muʿallaqāt* (literally: the "suspended") derive their name from the fact that, after being awarded a prize during the poetry contests held on occasion of the yearly markets at ʿUkāẓ, they were suspended in the Kaʿbah. In all probability, the literal meaning of the term (the correct etymology of which has not yet been established) and the memory of exceptionally important written documents being hung from the Kaʿbah in ancient times conspired to bring about the legend. (The different explanations of the term *al-muʿallaqāt* have been studied by Robson, 1936.) In my opinion, the idea that, by depositing the poems in the Kaʿbah, one would get an authentic version, an "original" of the text of the poems is not a plausible explanation in this case.

350 al-Masʿūdī (1965–1979, vol. 4, p. 270, par. 2639); cf. al-Asad (1978, p. 171).

351 Peterson (1926, pp. 217 ff.); Jaeger (1912, p. 138); Lieberman (1950, p. 85); Pöhlmann (1990, pp. 21, 23) with further references. Pöhlmann adds: "The deposition of books in temples can also... be found as a fictitious attestation of a source, which, however, bears all the marks of a frequently practised procedure."

352 Peterson (1926, p. 219).

353 Jaeger (1912, p. 138); Pöhlmann (1990, p. 23).

354 Lieberman (1950, p. 85, n. 16).

355 Jaeger (1912, p. 138).

356 Ibn Hišām (1955, vol. 1, p. 608 f.) [=(1967, p. 290)]; a similar report can be found in al-Wāqidī (1966, vol. 1, p. 30; cf. al-Asad (1978, p. 67).

357 Threats that ▪ taunt will be preserved in writing (or hints at the fact that it had already been preserved in writing) can, from the time of the *muḫaḍramūn* (see Glossary), also occasionally be found in lampoons (*hiǧāʾ*). One frequently quoted line (az-Zamaḫšarī...

1965, p. 53, art. *bwb*; cf. al-Hutay'ah, 1892, p. 18 and Blachère 1952–1966, p. 90) by the *muḥaḍram* (see Glossary) poet Tamīm ibn Ubayy ibn Muqbil ▮ follows:

Banū ʿĀmir, what is your command concerning a poet / who has chosen from among the different kinds of writing to lampoon me?

Banī ʿĀmirin mā tamurūna bi-šāʿirin / tahayyara bābati 'l-kitābi hiǧāʾiyā

We are not in ▮ position to decide in such cases whether the poems were actually written down or whether its author merely employed a topos (the threat of written, that is, permanent, recording of the infamous act in question). At the very least, we can say that people were aware of the idea of the written recording of a poem for that very purpose. This does not, however, change the fact that, for poetry, the accustomed method of "publication" practised at the time was very different indeed (cf. p. 65ff.).

358 Wellhausen (1889a, p. 87); cf. also Serjeant (1983, pp. 139–142).
359 Serjeant (1983, p. 149 f.); Puin (1970, pp. 57 ff., 63 ff.).
360 On this issue, cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī (1879–1901, ser. 1, p. 1367); Ibn Haǧar al-ʿAsqalānī (1398/1978, vol. 1, p. 311); Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 394); Lecker (2004, pp. 194–203 and 2005, pp. 10, 12, and 14) and p. 83.
361 aṭ-Ṭabarī (1879–1901, ser. 1, p. 1367) [= (1984–1988, vol. 7, p. 92)].
362 ʿAbd ar-Razzāq (1970–1972, vol. 9, no. 16154); cf. also vol. 10, no. 18847.
363 Goldziher (1907, p. 862); cf. also Serjeant (1983, p. 138); Lecker (2005, p. 1).
364 On similar reports about a letter by the Prophet concerning the levy of the *ṣadaqah* (alms tax), cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 394 f.) and Lecker (2004, p. 22 f.). On the place of storage, ▮ Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 394 f.) and p. 83.
365 Since the time of the *muḥaḍramūn* (see Glossary), poems which contained messages were also characterized as private letters. As with the written recording of taunts (cf. n. 357), we are hard-pressed to decide in each individual case whether the message was actually written down or its mention merely employed as a topos. The most prominent examples are the following: ›a-lā ›ablīġā ʿan-nī Buġayran risālatan...‹ ("Ho!, deliver an epistle to Buġayr on my behalf...") by Kaʿb ibn Zuhayr (1950, p. 3, v. 1), meter: *ṭawīl*, rhyme: *kū*; and *ḥāḏā kitābī ›ilay-kum wa-ʾn-naḏīru la-kum ...* ("This is my letter to you and my warning for you...") by Laqīṭ ibn Yaʿmar al-Iyādī (in Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī 1285 H, vol. 20, p. 24), meter: *kāmil*, rhyme: *ʿā*. An additional example from the Umayyad era: Seidensticker (1983, p. 80, no. 8, v. 1), meter: *kāmil*, rhyme: *ʿū*.
366 On further written documents in early Islam (or perhaps already as early ▮ the *ǧāhilīyah* [the period before Islam]) and other writings (e.g. "promissory notes," *sukūk*; redemptions of slaves, *mukātabāt*; religious books, etc.), see al-Asad (1978, pp. 68 ff.).
367 On the role of the *rāwī* (transmitter) and the transmission of ancient Arabic poetry in general, cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, pp. 22 ff.) with further references, and in particular al-Asad (1978, pp. 222–254). See also pp. 102–103.
368 According to Brockelmann (1943–1949, suppl. vol. 1, p. 33).
369 Examples in Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, p. 22).
370 The distinction between the terms *rāwī*, as tribal transmitter, on the one hand, and *rāwiyah*, as scholarly transmitter, in Arabic texts, both terms can mean both types of transmitters. To simplify our discussion, we will, however, adhere to this distinction. On both categories of *ruwāt*, cf. also Pellat (1953, p. 137).
371 Abū Ḥātim as-Siǧistānī (1899, p. 25, no. 20, l. 15; p. 28, no. 20, l. 4; p. 39, no. 37). This and further references in al-Asad (1978, p. 233 f.).

372 References in al-Asad (1978, pp. 232 f., 234 ff., 222–231) and Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, p. 25).
373 Ǧarīr and al-Farazdaq (1905–1912, vol. 2, p. 647).
374 He transmitted the *dīwān* (collected poems) of Kaʿb ibn Zuhayr and other poetry of the family of Zuhayr; cf. Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī (1285 H, vol. 2, p. 59).
375 Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī (1285 H, vol. 15, p. 147).
376 al-Marzubānī (1965, p. 199); cf. al-Asad (1978, p. 242).
377 Ṯaʿlab (1956, p. 413).
378 Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī (1285 H, vol. 4, p. 54).
379 Cf. Wright (1951, vol. 2, p. 356, §199). The *sinād* is ▮ type of impure rhyme, for example, *ṭumūšā—Quraysā*.
380 al-Marzubānī (1965, p. 198 f.); cf. Brockelmann (1943–1949, suppl. vol. 1, p. 33).
381 al-Marzubānī (1965, p. 27 f., 150).
382 Spitaler (1989, no. 88).
383 Ǧarīr and al-Farazdaq (1905–1912, vol. 1, p. 200 f., no. 39, v. 51 ff.).
384 Ǧarīr and al-Farazdaq (1905–1912, vol. 1, p. 200 f., no. 39, v. 57).
385 Ǧarīr and al-Farazdaq (1905–1912, vol. 1, p. 200 f., no. 39, v. 61).
386 Ǧarīr and al-Farazdaq (1905–1912, vol. 2, p. 908, l. 1).
387 Ǧarīr and al-Farazdaq (1905–1912, vol. 1, p. 430, l. 12).
388 al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī (1921, p. 676, l. 9).
389 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, p. 37).
390 See Chapter 5, especially pp. 114–116 and pp. 125–127 (= Schoeler, 1989, especially pp. 217 ff., 232 ff.).
391 al-Marzubānī (1965, p. 280).
392 al-Kalāʾī (1966, p. 235 f.). I am grateful to Prof. S. Bonebakker for introducing ▮ to this work and the reference.
393 Pellat (1953, p. 137).
394 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 92) [= (1970, p. 198)].
395 Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī (1285 H, vol. 5, p. 174); cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, p. 28).
396 Goldziher (1897, especially p. 126 f.).
397 Bräu (1927, p. 10 f.).
398 On p. 68.
399 Abū Nuwās (1958, vol. 1, p. 317, l. 3; also p. 311, l. 12).
400 al-Ǧāḥiẓ (1367/1948, vol. 1, p. 321).
401 al-Ǧāḥiẓ (1367/1948, vol. 1, p. 320, l. 15).
402 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 69, l. 6) [= (1970, p. 152)].
403 Yāqūt (1923–1930, vol. 7, p. 8).
404 See Chapter 1, p. 41 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 226).
405 Chapter 5, p. 127 (= Schoeler, 1989a, p. 234).
406 Chapter 5, p. 116 (= Schoeler, 1989a, p. 220).
407 Kister (1970, p. 29 ff.), citing Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir's *Kitāb al-manṯūr wa-'l-manẓūm* (*The Book of Scattered [Prose] and Strung [Verse]*); Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, p. 47).
408 But cf. p. 81.
409 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 68) [= (1970, p. 151)]. Additional information about the reports on the genesis of the collection and further references can be found in R. Jacobi's article *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* in EI², vol. 7, p. 306 f.
410 as-Suyūṭī (n.d., vol. 2, p. 319); Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, p. 53).
411 Cf. n. 409. Today, the collection comprises 126 poems.
412 al-Ḥabīb al-Baġdādī (1931, vol. 1, p. 220 f.). According to this report, the papyri (or parchments; *qarāṭīs*) Ibn Isḥāq wrote his book on—that is, the autograph from which the caliph's copy was probably made—were inherited by his student

Salamah ibn al-Faḍl. He (and he alone!) was to use this material for subsequent transmission.

413 Al-Samuk (1978, especially p. 165).
414 Abū 't-Ṭayyib al-Luġawī (1955, p. 91 f.).
415 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 68) [= (1970, p. 150)].
416 Chapter 2, pp. 49–50 (= Schoeler, 1989b, p. 48 ff.).
417 Abū 't-Ṭayyib al-Luġawī (1955, p. 65).
418 al-Farrā' (1972, vol. 1, p. 1).
419 The epistle was edited by Ritter (1933). Cf. also van Ess (1977, p. 18), who dates the text between 75/694 and 80/699; and Cook (1981, p. 117–123), who places it a few decades later.
420 Edited, translated, and studied by van Ess (1977, pp. 43–57/Arab.; pp. 113 ff./Germ.). While van Ess dates it around 100/718, Cook (1981, pp. 124–136) considers it to be a few decades later.
421 Edited and studied by van Ess (1974, pp. 20–25). Dated by van Ess in the year 75/694 and by Cook (1981, pp. 68–88) no earlier than the second half of the second/eighth century.
422 van Ess (1974, p. 25).
423 Cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, pp. 419 ff.). Mālik ibn Anas's (d. 179/795) Kitāb al-muwaṭṭaʔ (The Book of the Well-Trodden [Path]), which may be earlier than the Kitāb al-ḫarāǧ (The Book of Land-Tax), is a collection of legally relevant traditions and opinions (ʔaraʔ), not yet a conclusively edited book:
424 The first few lines of the work run as follows:

hāḏā mā kataba bi-hī-Abū Yūsuf...ʔilā-ʔamīr al-muʔminīn Hārūn ar-Rašīd:
ʔatāla 'llāhu baqāʔa-ʔamīri 'l-muʔminīn wa-ʔadāma la-hū 'l-ʔizz fī tamāmin
min an-niʕmah wa-dawāmin min al-karāmah ʕinna ʕamīra 'l-muʔmini-
na...saʔala-nī ʔan ʔaṣnaʕa la-hū kitāban ǧāmiʕan yaʕmalu bi-hī fī ǧibāyati
'l-ḫarāǧ wa-'l-ʕuštūri wa-'ṣ-ṣadaqāti wa-'l-ǧāliyati wa-ġayri ḏālika
mimmā yaǧibu ʕalay-hi 'n-naẓaru fī-hī wa-'l-ʕamalu bi-hī...

This is what Abū Yūsuf wrote to... the Emir of the Believers Hārūn ar-Rašīd: May Allāh prolong the existence of the Emir of the Believers and perpetuate greatness for him, in perfect beatitude and in constant blessing. The Emir of the Believers... requested me to compose for him a comprehensive book in accordance with which the land-tax, the tithe, the poll-tax and other taxes which need to be checked and collected, could be calculated at the time of their levying.

425 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 203 l. 14) [= (1970, p. 503)]: Kitāb risālati-hī fī 'l-ḫarāǧ ʔilā 'r-Rašīd (The Book of his Epistle to Hārūn ar-Rašīd on Land-Tax).
426 Cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p, 519).
427 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 117) [= (1970, p. 257)]; Brockelmann (1943–1949, suppl. vol. 1, p. 105), EI², vol. 1, p. 65 f.
428 Note the beginnings of the use of syntactic parallelisms in the introduction to Abū Yūsuf's Risālah quoted (cf. n. 424), a stylistic device typical of the secretarial risālah; cf. Latham (1983, pp. 175 ff.).
429 On this and the following, cf. the fundamental works by Nöldeke (1909–1938, vols 2 and 3); Jeffery (1952, pp. 89 ff.); Blachère (1959, pp. 12 ff., 27 ff., 52 ff.); Watt (1977, especially pp. 30–56, 135–144); Neuwirth, Koran, in Gätje (1987, vol. 2, pp. 96–135, especially pp. 101–104); Welch's article Ḳur'ān in EI², vol. 5, pp. 400–432, especially pp. 403 ff.
430 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 1, pp. 45 ff.; vol. 2, pp. 1 ff.); Sayed (1977, p. 280).

431 Neuwirth, Koran, p. 102 in Gätje (1987, vol. 2); Watt (1977, p. 37, 136); Bellamy (1973, p. 271).
432 They are listed in Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 1, p. 46, n. 5).
433 Cf. Sprenger (1869, vol. 3, p. XXXV); Watt (1977, p. 136).
434 Cf. Neuwirth, Koran, p. 102 in Gätje (1987, vol. 2).
435 The first scholar to point this out was R. Bell; cf. Watt (1977, pp. 137 ff.). See especially the comprehensive study by Nagel (1983).
436 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 1, p. 32 ff.); Welch, art. Ḳur'ān in EI², vol 5, p. 400 f.; Watt (1977, pp. 135 ff.); Neuwirth, Koran, p. 102 in Gätje (1987, vol. 2). The Syriac term qeryānā has itself the double meaning of anagnosis (reading, recitation, and lecture) and anagnosma (what is read, the passage read out, and lectionary). Cf. Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 1, p. 34).
437 J. Burton (1977) has argued for a different version of events. He maintains that Muhammad himself edited the Qur'ān. This is not the place for a detailed critique of Burton's hypothesis; however, I believe that consideration of the context in which the history of the redaction of the Qur'ān took place, a given in this study, serves to strengthen the position of one reviewer of Burton's book, who wrote:

The passage from "a codex" in the Prophet's estate, which would in any case already have been confronted with a substantial number of Qur'ān readers (together with their written notes), to a uniform written text disseminated into each province of a vast empire is very long indeed. To pass over the problems connected with this passage in silence... would be a gross oversimplification. If we did not have any reports about Companion codices and later ʔamṣār [provincial capitals] codices, we would have to postulate their existence!

(Neuwirth, 1981, p. 376)

438 ad-Dānī (1932, p. 6, l. 13 f.); Ibn Abī Dāwūd (1936–1937, p. 7, 1.1 f., 18; p. 8, 1. 4; p. 10, l. 19); further references in Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, p. 13).
439 Ibn Abī Dāwūd (1936–1937, p. 7, 1. 1; p. 10, l. 19).
440 ad-Dānī (1932, p. 3, l. 12); Ibn Abī Dāwūd (1936–1937, p. 5, several places).
441 Cf. the Kitāb faḍāʔil al-Qurʔān (The Book of the Virtues of the Qurʔān), chapter Ǧāmiʕ al-Qurʔān (The Collection of the Qurʔān) in al-Buḫārī's al-Ǧāmiʕ aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ (The Sound Compilation), contained in Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʕAsqalānī (1398/1978, pt. 19, pp. 12 ff.); ad-Dānī (1932, pp. 3 ff.); Ibn Abī Dāwūd (1936–1937, pp. 5 ff.); Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, pp. 11 ff.); Sayed (1977, pp. 286 ff.).
442 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, p. 21 ff.).
443 Already suggested by Sprenger (1869, vol. 3, p. XLII) and later by Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, p. 21). Recent research unanimously agrees, cf. Watt (1977, p. 41 f.); Blachère (1959, p. 34); Neuwirth, Koran, p. 103 f. in Gätje (1987, vol. 2).
444 Cf. Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, p. 27 ff.); Blachère (1959, p. 34).
445 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, pp. 15, 24 f.).
446 In contexts in which both of Zayd's collections—the earlier one under Abū Bakr and the later a under ʕUtmān—are mentioned, the former is usually called suḥuf, the latter mushaf. Cf. ad-Dānī (1932, pp. 5, l. 4, 8; pp. 7, l. 3, 5) and Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, p. 25 with n. 2).
447 Cf. n. 440.
448 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, p. 24); Neuwirth, Koran, p. 101 in Gätje (1987, vol. 2).
449 Cf. n. 439.
450 Sayed (1977, p. 281 f.).
451 About them, cf. Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, pp. 5 ff.); Paret's article Ḳirā'a in EI², vol. 5, pp. 127 ff and, more recently, Sayed (1977).

452 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 57 ff.).
453 Beck (1946, p. 209).
454 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, p. 47 ff.).
455 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 1, p. 48 f.).
456 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, pp. 48 ff.); Sayed (1977, p. 292 f.).
457 Ibn Abī Dāwūd (1936–1937, p. 24, l. 12 ff.).
458 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, p. 49); Beck (1947).
459 According to Bergsträsser and Pretzl in Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 119).
460 Ibn Abī Dāwūd (1936–1937, p. 13, l. 7 ff.).
461 aṭ-Ṭabarī (1879–1901, ser. 1, p. 2952) [= (1984–1988, vol. 15, p. 156)].
462 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, pp. 95, 104 f, 147); Beck (1945,
463 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 2, p. 116 f.; vol. 3, pp. 104 f, 147); Beck (1945, p. 355 f.) (against Nöldeke 1909–1938, vol. 2, p. 116 f.).
464 aṭ-Ṭabarī (1321 H, vol. 1, p. 17, l. 8); cf. Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 105); Beck (1945, p. 372).
465 On this issue, see Juynboll (1983, p. 52).
466 Beck (1946, p. 208).
467 Beck (1946, p. 208).
468 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 6 ff.); Beck (1947).
469 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, pp. 1 ff., vol. 3, p. 121); Beck (1945, especially p. 361 f.).
470 Beck (1946, p. 210).
471 Cf. n. 469.
472 al-Farrā' (1972, vol. 2, p. 183 f.); cf. Beck (1945, p. 360).
473 Cf. Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, pp. 127 ff.); Beck (1946, especially pp. 222 ff.).
474 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 205).
475 Bergsträsser (1926, p. 11).
476 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 205).
477 Ibn al-Ǧazarī (1933–1935, vol. 1, no. 874, 22, 755, 1581, 1965, 1377). These and other references can be found in Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 206 with n. 1).
478 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 205–208).
479 See Chapters 1 and 2 (= Schoeler, 1985, 1989).
480 See Chapter 2, p. 54 (= Schoeler, 1989, p. 57 f.).
481 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 5).
482 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 6 ff.).
483 The difference between *hypomnēma* and *syngramma* is similar to, but not identical with, the difference between *kitābah* (written record) and *tadwīn* (collection on ▪ large scale) on the one hand and *taṣnīf* (material systematically arranged into thematic chapters) on the other (cf. Sezgin, 1967–, vol. 1, pp. 55 ff.). For example, in the field of *ḥadīṯ*, most of the *muṣannafāt* of the second/eighth century (Saʿīd ibn Abī ʿArūbah, Wakīʿ ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ etc.) are not yet *syngrammata*, but *hypomnēmata* (see Chapter 5, pp. 114–115 = Schoeler, 1989, p. 219).
484 See p. 176, n. 100 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 208, n. 39) with references.
485 Ullmann et al. (1970–, vol. 1, p. 40 ff., art. *Kitāb*).
486 See Chapter 1 above, p. 36 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 216 f.) and Schoeler (1986, p. 123).
487 Sellheim (1976, vol. 1, pp. 33–43).
488 Sellheim (1976, vol. 1, p. 33, 41 f.).
489 Sellheim (1976, vol. 1, p. 36).
490 Ibn al-Ǧazarī (1933–1935, vol. 1, p. 514, no. 2125); cf. Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 145, n. 8).
491 Sellheim (1976, vol. 1, p. 36, 38).
492 Chapter 1, p. 42 and Chapter 2, p. 59 point (7) and p. 60 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 227 f. and 1989b, pp. 65 and 66).

493 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 146, n. 1).
494 Sellheim (1976, vol. 1, p. 41).
495 Cf. for example Sellheim (1961, p. 67); on this issue, see Chapter 1, p. 41 with n. 168 and 169 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 225 f with n. 107 and 108).
496 Sellheim (1976, vol. 1, p. 38).
497 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 206) and our n. 477.
498 Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 5).
499 Sellheim (1976, vol. 1, p. 34 f.).
500 Ibn ʿAṭīyah (1954, p. 276).
501 Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 104, n. 1; p. 261 f.); Blachère (1959, p. 75 ff.).
502 Cf. now Schoeler 2002b (pp. 58–70).
503 Cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1,
504 az-Zubayr ibn Bakkār (1972, p. 331 ff.); cf. Jarrar (1989, pp. 15 ff.); cf. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 1, p. 278) with further references. The passage in question (az-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, 1972, p. 332) runs as follows:

He [sc. Sulaymān] then ordered Abān ibn ʿUṯmān to write down for him the reports about the life (*siyar*) and the campaigns (*maġāzī*) of the Prophet. Abān said: "I already have it [sc. the biography] (*hiya ʿindī*). I have received it in confirmed [or: corrected] form (*muṣaḥḥaḥatan*) from people I trust." Thereupon, he [sc. Sulaymān] ordered it to be copied and gave it to ten scribes. They wrote it down on parchment.

505 Cf. on this subject Chapter 5, pp. 121–124 (= Schoeler, 1989, p. 227 ff.).
506 As Bergsträsser and Pretzl also maintain in Nöldeke (1909–1938, vol. 3, p. 104, n. 1).
507 Cf. Schacht (1950, p. 188); Tyan (1945, p. 5 f.); and Brunschwig's article *Bayyina* in EI², vol. 1, p. 1150 f. Following Migne (1862–1980, vol. 94, p. 768), Schacht points out that John of Damascus (675–749) already recognized this feature as a characteristic trait of Islamic law. His further observation, however, is incorrect: "This feature [i.e. the restriction of legal proof to the evidence of witnesses and the denial of validity to written documents] contradicts an explicit ruling of the Koran (ii, 282), which obviously endorsed the current practice of putting contracts into writing."

Schacht overlooks the close connection mentioned above between the two Qur'ānic instructions to record in writing *and* to consult witnesses.

508 aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī (1972, p. 1 f.).
509 Tyan (1945, p. 5 f.); Brunschwig, art. *Bayyina* in EI², vol. 1, p. 1032); Ibn Nuǧaym, and aš-Šāfiʿī.
510 Tyan (1945, p. 6) with references from Ibn ʿĀbidīn, ar-Ramlī, al-Marġīnānī, Ibn Nuǧaym, and aš-Šāfiʿī.
511 Ibn Abī Dāwūd (1936–1937, p. 10 f.).
512 Ibn Saʿd (1904–1906, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 15–38); German translation in Wellhausen (1889).
513 See p. 63.
514 One exception is al-Wāqidī (1966, vol. 3, p. 1032); Ibn Saʿd (1904–1906, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 30, l. 3 ff.; p. 36, l. 18 ff.; p. 37, l. 20 ff.). Cf. Wellhausen (1989a, p. 89).
515 In contrast to later perceptions, in the *ǧāhilīyah* (period before Islam), writing was highly respected; cf. p. 63f.
516 On the following discussion, cf. the interesting remarks in Kaplan (1933, pp. 268 ff.).
517 On the transition from orality to literacy in Greek literature, cf. Pöhlmann (1990, especially pp. 24 ff.); the author places the critical period in the second half of the fifth century BCE, which covers Socrates' lifetime (469–399). Plato wrote his *Phaedrus* c. 50 years later as a fiction. Cf. also Kullmann (1990, p. 319), who argues that, at the

end of the fifth and in the first half of the fourth century, "people became ▬ of the problems caused by the triumph of this medium." "On Plato's criticism of writing, cf. also Szlezák (1990). [See Brisson (1998), especially the introduction by Naddaf.]

518 English translation by Rowe (2000, pp. 123 ff.).

519 This argument is similar to that of some traditionists against the written recording of ḥadīṯ; it is to be feared that people who make notes rely too much ▬ the written word, which is short-lived, at the expense of properly memorizing (cf. Chapter 5, p. 118 = Schoeler, 1989, p. 223).

520 Compare the dictum by al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774), founder of ▬ legal *madhab* (school, or rite): "This science [sc. *ḥadīṯ*] was (once) ▬ noble matter, when people still received it (in lectures).... But when it entered into books, it lost its shine..." (Cf. Chapter 5, p. 121 = Schoeler, 1989, p. 226).

521 A further argument advanced by traditionists against the written recording of *ḥadīṯs* claimed that traditions recorded in writing would fall into the wrong hands: those of the unauthorized (Chapter 5, pp. 118 and 121 = Schoeler, 1989, pp. 223, 227).

522 The idea that the written word needs support, that the author has to intervene if the written text was to be correctly understood (and read), was the basis of the main argument of the Arab scholars for the necessity of "heard"/"audited" transmission (*ar-riwāyah al-masmūʿah, samāʿ*) or for the deficiencies of "merely written" transmission (*kitābah*); see Chapter 1, p. 42; Chapter 2, p. 60, and p. 59, especially points (2), (6), and (7); and Chapter 5, p. 129 = Schoeler (1985, p. 227 f.; 1989a, pp. 66, 64 f., especially points 2, 6, and 7; 1989b, p. 237).

523 The Christian Arab physician Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066) put forward the following argument for oral instruction by a teacher and against the copying of material from books: "The spoken word is not as far removed from the intended meaning as the written.... The written word...is no more than a simile." (cf. Chapter 2, p. 59 = Schoeler, 1989, p. 65).

Note the fictitious orality Plato bestows on his books by using the dialog form and compare it to the procedure adopted by the traditionist Ibn Abī Šaybah (d. 235/849). At the beginning of several chapters of his monumental *Muṣannaf* (work divided into thematic chapters, systematically arranged), he presents his compilation as follows: "This is what I know *by heart* from the Prophet." (cf. Chapter 5, p. 115 = Schoeler, 1989, p. 220).

524 For the following discussion, cf. Strack (1921, p. 14); Kaplan (1933, pp. 265 ff.); Weil (1939); Schäfer (1978); and Chapter 5 below, pp. 119–120 (=Schoeler, 1989a, p. 225).

525 Chapter 5, p. 117 (= Schoeler, 1989a, p. 221).

526 Cf. Chapter 1, p. 42; Chapter 2, p. 60; and Chapter 5, p. 129 (= Schoeler, 1985, p. 227 f.; 1989, p. 66; 1989, p. 237).

527 In later times, one phenomenon aptly illustrated this often strange preference of oral, or aural, transmission, which stood in sharp contrast to the frequent practice of merely copying books: the ʾiǧāzah system (cf. Goldziher, 1890, vol. 2, p. 188 ff. = [1971, vol. 2, pp. 175 ff.]). Another relevant practice was the addition of so-called "introductory" *isnāds* (*riwāyāt*) to certain high-quality manuscripts, mostly containing religious works, but sometimes also secular literature. Ideally, they linked the last owner of the manuscript via ▬ unbroken line of authorized transmitters with its author through "heard"/"audited" transmission (*samāʿ, qirāʾah*): "A has told me" or "I have read before B"); cf. Goldziher (1890, vol. 2, p. 192) [= (1971, vol. 2, p. 178 f.)] and Chapter 2, p. 50 (=Schoeler, 1989b, p. 51).

528 Nyberg (1938, pp. 9 ff.; cf. also 13 f.).
529 Elad (2003).
530 Elad (2003, p. 123).
531 Cf. p. 81 with n. 504.

532 Examples in Schoeler (2002b, pp. 53, 78).
533 Ibn an-Nadīm (1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 68) [= (1970, p. 150)].

4 ORAL POETRY THEORY AND ARABIC LITERATURE

534 Haymes (1977) has written a clear, concise, and critical introduction to oral poetry research; he has also compiled a bibliography, which gives a good impression of the amount of work undertaken in this field (Haymes, 1973). The last chapter of Latacz (1979a) contains a valuable specialized bibliography on the oral poetry theory. A sample of titles of interest for Middle Eastern Studies specialists is listed in Monroe (1972, p. 9 f., n. 2). In the introduction to the volume of articles on Homer which he edited, Latacz (1979a, especially pp. 2–5) comments on the immense impact which oral poetry theory has had on literary studies. [See further Foley (1988) and Finnegan (1992).]

535 This chapter is also a review of M. Zwettler's *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry: Its Character and Implication* (Zwettler, 1978). A note on terminology: for the following discussion, I will define a *qaṣīdah* ▬ long, polythematic poem in Arabic, usually introduced by ▬ *nasīb* (elegiac section). The "ancient Arabic" poetry dealt with in this article comprises both pre- and early-Islamic poetry.

536 For the following discussion, see Parry (1971a, pp. 439 ff.) and the following studies: A. Parry (1971, p. XXX ff.); Lord (1971, p. 467); Voorwinden and de Haan (1979, p. 1 f.); Heubeck (1974, pp. 130–134); von See (1978, p. 15–23, especially p. 15).

537 Parry (1928) translated into English as Parry (1971d).

538 Cf. Heubeck (1974, p. 132 f.). The change in Parry's position is particularly visible in Parry (1971c). The issue is discussed in more detail in Lord (1971, pp. 467 ff., especially p. 467).

539 See the bibliographies listed in n. 534 and the introduction to Voorwinden and de Haan (1979), especially p. 1 f.

540 Lord (1960).

541 Parry (1971a, p. XXII). A more recent, even-handed assessment of Parry's achievements can be found in Latacz (1979b, p. 39). In short, the formulaic character of the Homeric language had already been pointed out before Parry by, among others, A. Meillet. In his analysis of Homer's "Kunstsprache" (artificial language), Parry based his research on the findings of K. Witte and K. Meister. Finally, Parry and his student Lord undertook their later travels in Yugoslavia in the footsteps of the Prague Slavic Studies expert M. Murko, who already prepared phonographic records of oral Serbo-Croat folk epics on site before the first World War. See immediately below for Radloff's influence ▬ Parry.

542 von See (1978, p. 21). We hope that von See's observation helps to make Radloff's achievements more widely known outside Middle Eastern Studies.

543 Radloff (1885).
544 Radloff (1885, p. IV, XVI ff.).
545 Radloff (1885, p. XIV, XVIII ff.).
546 Radloff (1885, p. XVI).
547 Radloff (1885, p. XVII).
548 Radloff (1885, p. XVI f.). It is alarming that Lord (1960, p. 30) labels this observation by Radloff ▬ Parry's "almost (!) revolutionary idea."
549 Radloff (1885, p. XX ff.).
550 Radloff (1885, p. XX).
551 Meier (1909, pp. 11–17).
552 Gesemann (1926, p. 67) writes: "The new aspect Meier has pointed out to us is ▬ insight he drew from the works of the outstanding Radloff: in the study of oral folk epic, we have to take the factor of improvisation adequately into account."

553 Meier (1909, p. 34) lists the following classicists: Pöhlmann, Drerup, and Immisch.

554 On the Arabic folk epic, see pp. 104–105 with n. 681 and 682.

555 Zwettler (1978).

556 Monroe (1972).

557 Zwettler (1978, pp. 43–50).

558 Zwettler (1978, p. 24).

559 Zwettler (1978, p. 23).

560 Zwettler (1978, pp. 25 ff., especially p. 26).

561 Zwettler (1978, p. 28).

562 His results are assembled in Zwettler (1978, pp. 235–262, appendix A).

563 Parry (1971b, p. 272) defines a formula as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea." See also Lord (1960, pp. 30–67, especially p. 30).

564 Zwettler (1978, p. 6, 44, 50 f.).

565 Zwettler (1978, p. 51 ff.).

566 Illustrated with diagrams in Zwettler (1978, p. 61).

567 Zwettler (1978, p. 62).

568 Zwettler (1978, pp. 64–77).

569 Zwettler (1978, pp. 77–84).

570 Zwettler (1978, especially p. 98–102, 146–149, 170 ff.).

571 Zwettler (1978, pp. 189, 212, 225, and passim).

572 Zwettler (1978, especially pp. 212 ff., 219 f.).

573 Zwettler (1978, p. 193 f.).

574 Zwettler (1978, pp. 206 ff.).

575 Zwettler (1978, pp. 189, 191); quotation from R. Menéndez Pidal.

576 Zwettler (1978, p. 206).

577 Zwettler (1978, pp. 207, 220).

578 Zwettler (1978, pp. 212–215).

579 Zwettler (1978, p. 197 f.).

580 Zwettler (1978, pp. 222 ff. and 200).

581 Zwettler (1978, p. 34).

582 Haymes (1977, p. 14 ff.); Schaar (1979, p. 73 f.) (the following quotations are taken from this study); Lutz (1979, p. 257 f.).

583 Haymes (1977, p. 14) and p. 94.

584 Curschmann (1967, p. 48). [On Walther and the German lyric in general, see Sayce (1982) and Dronke (1996). For an interesting discussion of the transition from oral to written tradition in Medieval Europe, see Rifaterre (1991).]

585 Other examples of highly formulaic poetry, which certainly belong to written culture, are the Anglo-Saxon poems of Cynewulf and related poets; cf. Schaar (1979, pp. 74–77). [For examples of Anglo-Saxon poetry, see Raffel and Olsen (1998); see also Godden and Lapidge (1991).]

586 Zwettler (1978, p. 23).

587 Zwettler (1978, pp. 15, 23).

588 See Bäuml (1979, pp. 242–245, especially p. 245).

589 In *oral* poetry, the formulae fulfil two functions: according to Meier (1935–1936, vol. 1, p. 27), ▪ folk song researcher whose work has been studied by Parry, the formula serves "on the one hand to help the singer to improvize and ▪ the other, to evoke, in the way of ▪ *leitmotif*, earlier occurrences [sc. of the same formula and its context]." In highly formulaic *written* poetry, the first function of the formula ▪ to apply, while the other remains. A more detailed description of the audience-centered function of the formula can be found in Schröder (1967, p. 11): "the 'formula' (is here) the 'appropriate expression' for "the portrayal of a 'total' world." Regarding

Homer, F. Dirlmeier writes: formulae were "not regarded by the audience as symptomatic of poetical weaknesses," but as "welcome confirmations of a world they were familiar with" (quoted in von See 1978, p. 17).

590 Again from the article by Curschmann (1967, pp. 50 ff.).

591 Cf. Curschmann (1967, p. 51 f.) and Bäuml (1979, p. 244 f., especially p. 250, n. 26).

592 This is also the position of F. Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, p. 22; cf. also pp. 31, 36). He points to the role of writing as a means of recording, occasionally at least, pre-Islamic poetry without, however, claiming "that all *rāwīs* [transmitters] of the *ǧāhilīyah* [the period before Islam] were able to write down the poems they transmitted." Surprisingly, Zwettler (1978, p. 96, n. 117) accepts Sezgin's arguments.

593 Zwettler (1978, p. 28 f.).

594 Zwettler (1978, pp. 215, 222, especially p. 229 f., n. 70). [See also O'Donoghue (2003).]

595 von See (1971, p. 109).

596 Goldziher (1896a).

597 More on this on pp. 104–105. Incidentally, the authors or transmitters of the ancient Arabic prose form (*ᵓayyām al-ᶜarab*, battle days of the Arabs), which emerged at the same time as ancient Arabic poetry, are also anonymous.

598 Zwettler (1978, p. 198–204); the quotation is taken from p. 204.

599 Zwettler (1978, p. 198–204); the quotation is taken from p. 202.

600 Zwettler (1978, p. 29).

601 Genzmer (1926). His claim has been disputed by von See (1961).

602 Blachère (1952–66, p. 87).

603 Wagner (1964, p. 290).

604 For example, Abū Ḥiffān (1954, pp. 17, 29, 47, 82, 106, 111). On the subject of improvization, see Ibn Rašīq al-Qayrawānī (1972a, vol. 1, pp. 189–196); ▪ Abū Nuwās as an ad-lib poet, p. 190 f.; on the distinction between *badīhan* and *irtiǧālan*, pp. 189 and 195 f.

605 Ibn Rašīq al-Qayrawānī (1972a, vol. 1, p. 193).

606 Zwettler (1978, p. 188, n. 158).

607 Schoeler (1979, p. 54).

608 Bräunlich (1937, p. 214 f.).

609 Lord (1960, pp. 13–29, especially p. 26).

610 Cf. Blachère (1952–1966, p. 88).

611 al-Ǧāḥiz (1367/1948, vol. 2, pp. 9, 13).

612 These are the two key statements by al-Ǧāḥiz on this subject, not the one quoted by Monroe (1972, p. 11 f.). In his quotation, it is ancient Arabic *orators* who, contrary to Persian ones, had the gift of improvization. (Of course, this also applies to poets; however, this is not mentioned here.)

613 al-Ǧāḥiz (1367/1948, vol. 1, p. 206 f.).

614 Ibn Qutaybah (1947, p. 15).

615 Ibn Qutaybah (1947, p. 27 f. and 26 f.).

616 Ibn Rašīq al-Qayrawānī (1972a, vol. 1, p. 190). He mentions only one more example of ▪ improvized *qaṣīdah* by ᶜAbīd ibn al-Abraṣ.

617 Blachère (1952–1966, p. 87).

618 Zwettler (1978, p. 217). In this context, the author discusses Bateson (1970, p. 34 f.), who resolutely rejected the application of the Parry/Lord theory to ancient Arabic *qaṣīdah* poetry.

619 Cf. Blachère (1952–1966, p. 88). He sums up the relevant observations made on site by A. Socin, A. Musil, and others. See also the quote from Musil (1908) on p. 102.

620 Bowra (1962).

621 Bowra (1962, p. 35).

622 Bowra (1962, p. 35 f.).

623 Ullmann (1966, pp. 1, 18, 24, 26).

624 See Meier (1935-1936, vol. 1, p. 29).

625 Ahlwardt (1870, no. 21, v. 1).

626 al-Ǧāḥiz (1367/1948, vol. 2, p. 12 f.); Ibn Qutaybah (1947, p. 16).

627 Sa'īd, the son of the caliph 'Uṯmān ibn 'Affān (r. 23-35/644-656).

628 Parry (1971d, p. 334).

629 Hassān ibn Tābit (1971, vol. 1, p. 53, no. 8, v. 19).

630 Musil (1928, p. 283).

631 Zwettler (1978, p. 64).

632 Ibn Rašīq al-Qayrawānī (1972b. for example, pp. 22, 41) on Imru' al-Qays/Zuhayr and Imru' al-Qays/Ṭarafah respectively.

633 Ibn Rašīq al-Qayrawānī (1972a, vol. 2, p. 281). See also von Grunebaum (1944, p. 107, point 3).

634 Zwettler (1978, p. 64).

635 Zwettler (1978, p. 83), quoting Trabulsi (1955, p. 197).

636 See also von Grunebaum (1944, pp. 237; 238; 241 f., especially n. 71; 243, V, point 1; and 244, VI, point 1).

637 Cf. p. 89, with n. 564.

638 Zwettler (1978, p. 192).

639 Ahlwardt (1870, in the Arabic text, pp. 116 ff., 103 ff., respectively).

640 Ahlwardt (1872, pp. 68 ff.).

641 Ahlwardt (1872, p. 70).

642 Zwettler (1978, pp. 62, 213, 236).

643 Ahlwardt (1872, p. 74).

644 In Parry (1971b, p. 275, n. 1), words with fewer than five syllables do not count as formulae; Zwettler (1978, p. 57) operates on different criteria. In my opinion, the number of syllables cannot be the decisive factor in identifying a formula. I think that the *frequency* with which an expression is used is much more important. In other words, it is crucial whether, in a certain place, an expression appears familiar to a listener or reader. One example for such a formula would be *da-hā* ("leave her") or *dar dā* ("leave that"), which frequently marks the transition between the *nasīb* (elegiac section) and the next theme; see immediately below, especially n. 653.

645 Could that not have been what 'Antarah meant by "patching up" (cf. p. 96)?

646 Zwettler (1978, p. 55).

647 Minton (1965).

648 Heubeck (1974, p. 138).

649 Zwettler (1978, p. 253).

650 For aš-Šanardal, see Abū Nuwās (1972, p. 325) and Seidensticker (1983, nos. 20, 39, 40 f.); for Abū Nuwās himself, see Abū Nuwās (1972, p. 177 f.), and the quoted verses ibid., pp. 202 and 229.

651 For example, in Ahlwardt (1870): p. 129 (Arabic), no. 20, v. 28 (*fa-da-hā*; meter: *ṭawīl*; Imru' al-Qays); p. 81 (Arabic), no. 4, v. 4 (*dar dā*; meter: *kāmil*; Zuhayr); Ibn Qutaybah (1947): p. 14 (*dar dā*; meter: *ragaz*; anon.)

652 See n. 563.

653 The formula *dar dā, fa-da-hā* ("leave that," "so leave her") etc. in ■ *nasīb* (elegiac section, discussed above) is an expression of what R. Jacobi calls the "consolation motif." The same motif, however, can also be expressed differently, for example, with *fa-ṣaddi 'ammā tarā*, "so turn aside from what you see"; *fa-ṣazzaytu nafsī*, "then I consoled myself"; *fa-sallaytu mā 'indi*, "the I found solace for my [feelings]"; cf. Jacobi (1971, p. 51). Incidentally, Zwettler (1978, p. 54 f.) misses in the ancient

Arabic *qaṣīdah* the principle of economy, which Parry had detected in Homer and which he considered typical for improvized recitations.

654 Baeumer (1973, p. XVI).

655 Curtius (1941, p. 1). [See also Curtius (1953, pp. 70, 79-105) for a discussion of this term.]

656 Zwettler (1978, pp. 212 ff.); cf. p. 90.

657 Ibn Rašīq al-Qayrawānī (1972a, vol. 1, pp. 186-189; here p. 186).

658 To understand his concept (and that of his predecessors) of *qaṣīdah* (ode) and *qiṭ'ah* (short poem), the context of the entire chapter in Ibn Rašīq's book has to be taken into account.

659 Musil (1908, vol. 3, p. 233 f.); cf. Musil (1928, p. 283 f.); and Blachère (1952-1966, pp. 91 ff.).

660 Zwettler (1978, p. 85 f.); Ibn Qutaybah (1947, p. XXXI f. and p. 59, n. 60); Bräunlich (1937, p. 221); Sezgin (1967-, vol. 2, p. 27 f.). Cf. Chapter 3, pp. 66-67.

661 Zwettler (1978, p. 206).

662 See pp. 104.

663 Bräunlich (1937, p. 220 f., 265).

664 Zwettler (1978, pp. 86 ff., especially p. 87).

665 al-Gurǧānī (1965, p. 16).

666 On these four *rāwīs*, see Sezgin (1967-, vol. 2, pp. 131, 357 f., 348, and 408). Suffice it to say that only two *Mu'allaqah* (suspended ode) poets seem to have had known transmitters: Zuhayr and al-A'šā (cf. Sezgin 1967-, vol. 2, pp. 109-132). Of them, only the two *rāwīs* of Zuhayr became famous poets in their own right, namely Ka'b ibn Zuhayr and al-Ḥuṭay'ah; al-A'šā's *rāwī* was not a poet (as al-Gurǧānī's remark above shows). Thus, it seems to be the exception rather than the rule that *all* members of the well-known chain of transmitters Aws—Zuhayr—Ka'b, etc. were poets. In addition, the phrase *iǧtamara la-hu š-šīr wa-'r-riwāyah* ("in his case, poet and transmitter were one person"; see Sezgin 1967-, vol. 2, p. 22, n. 7 and the references listed there) seems to suggest that the combination of both functions was regarded ■ something special which deserved extra emphasis.

667 Blachère (1952-1966, pp. 86-107).

668 For the following discussion, see Wagner (1958, pp. 308-326, especially pp. 310 and 317) and Schoeler (1978, pp. 327-339). In addition, Wagner's edition of the *dīwān* contains ■ valuable critical apparatus.

669 Some examples: Abū Nuwās (1982, p. 26, no. 32) = al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf (1373/1954, p. 33, no. 47); Abū Nuwās (1988, p. 139 f., no. 107) = Ibn ad-Daḥḥāk (1960, p. 61); Abū Nuwās (1988, p. 170 f., no. 138) = Ibn al-Mu'tazz (1945, p. 93, no. 125) (two verses less than Abū Nuwās); Abū Nuwās (1988, p. 302, no. 265) = Ibn al-Ǧahm (1369/1949, no. 181, no. 92) (minus two verses).

670 An example can be found in Schoeler (1978, p. 332 f.).

671 An example: Schoeler (1978, pp. 337 ff.).

672 One example: Abū Nuwās (1982, p. 103, no. 135, l. 6 and 8) (translated in Schoeler, 1978, p. 338, v. 3 f.) = Abū Nuwās (1958, p. 49, l. 14 and p. 50, l. 1). Both these verses occur a third time in Abū Nuwās (1982, p. 318, no. 266, l. 10, and 12).

673 Cf. Wagner (1958, p. 308). He points out that in early 'Abbāsid times, the concept of *rāwī* was modified and extended.

674 See Wagner (1958, pp. 309 ff., especially p. 310). Incidentally, the transmission of Greek tragedies is another example of the emergence of a profusion of variants etc. in a genre of *literary* poetry. Its literary life took place primarily in its oral recitation (and performance) and is contemporaneous written transmission was not subject to philological control. As we know, the orator Lycurgus around 330 BCE arranged that the tragedies of the three great tragedians were collected in the so-called "state

675 For ancient Arabic poetry, see an example by Heinrichs (1974, p. 121). Examples for the criteria of Parry/Lord.

676 We do not need to discuss the viability of the method proposed by Monroe (1972, p. 42). It was already called into question by Zwettler (1978, p. 233 f., n. 125).

677 Zwettler (1978, p. 223 f.).

678 See Sezgin (1967–, vol. 2, p. 133 f.) and the additional references he lists.

679 Cf. Blachère (1952–1966, p. 99, 105 ff.); Ahlwardt (1872, p. 15 f.).

680 Ahlwardt (1872, p. 15).

681 Fortunately, we have an article on the state of the field (together with a comprehensive bibliography on the subject), Canova (1977). As we are informed by the author (p. 222), only ■ single Arabist to date has attempted to apply the Parry/Lord theory to an Arabic folk epic: Connelly (1973, pp. 18–21). Connelly's research can only be a first step.

682 Lane (1860, pp. 391–425). He reports that those reciting the Abū Zayd epic were the šuʿarāʾ (poets; p. 391), and those reciting the Sīrat az-Zāhir (The Life of az-Zāhir) were called muḥadditīn (narrators; p. 400). In accordance with their subject matter, reciters of the ʿAntar epic were named ʿanātire or ʿantariye (p. 414).

683 See Pantůček (1970, p. 9).

684 On the style of an Arabic folk epic, cf. Pantůček (1970, p. 102–120). The author, who is ■ yet unfamiliar with the Parry/Lord theory (!), makes the following comment about formulae and stereotypical themes (p. 102):

The frequency of stereotypical phrases and whole sentences [sc. which are repeated] shows that the work was orally transmitted. They make the narrator's work easier. Furthermore, in the composition [sc. of the work] a number of schematic situations can be found, e.g. battle descriptions.

685 Lane (1860, p. 391 f.). On the audience of the Serbo-Croat epics, cf. Lord (1960, pp. 14–17) and others. In both traditions, the coffee house as the location and the nights of Ramaḍān as the time of the performances play a prominent role.

686 Pantůček (1970, p. 8). The situation was similar in the case of the Arabian Nights: originally, it was a storybook translated from Middle Persian into Arabic. It was ■ adopted by folk narrators, who—in a process spanning several centuries and taking place in a number of countries—adapted and recast the stories, suppressed parts of the original material, and, in their stead, extended it by adding stories from a variety of sources, etc. From probably early on, the narrators kept notebooks, in which they recorded in writing this or that version of a story or even whole sequences of stories. It was probably these notebooks, together with texts transmitted exclusively in writing, which were the source for the written redactions extant today. On this subject, see the (albeit somewhat vague) remarks by Gerhardt (1963, pp. 39–64, especially pp. 39 ff.). The problem requires to be studied in more detail.

687 This is my own impression received during my work cataloguing the Berlin Arabic manuscripts, but also by studying the relevant descriptions in the more detailed manuscript catalogues. Flügel (1865, p. 6, no. 783) distinguishes between "copies [sc. of the ʿAntar romance] intended for coffee houses" and "good, old" copies and talks about "copies for public performance," which "are spread over a random number of notebooks."

688 See n. 682.

689 Lane (1860, p. 380).

690 Ṣāliḥ (1956). The book is not available to me, but quoted by Canova (1977, p. 214) and Pantůček (1970, p. 8).

691 Lord (1960, pp. 124–138), Chapter 6, "Writing and Oral Tradition."

692 Heath (1988, p. 149).

693 Cf. the discussion and negative verdict in standard works of the late 1980s such ■ Wagner (1987–1988, vol. 1, pp. 21 ff.), Jacobi (1987, p. 21 f.), and also Heath (1988, p. 164, n. 2).

694 The following articles are particularly important: Mattock (1971–1972); Bloch (1989); and Bauer (1993a,b).

695 Cf. p. 98.

696 Cf. p. 98.

697 Bloch (1989, p. 111).

698 Bloch (1989, p. 97); he adopts this observation from Goldziher. Cf. also Bonebakker (1986, p. 369, n. 6).

699 Bloch (1989, p. 105, 107 f.).

700 Ahlwardt (1870, p. 118, no. 4, v. 46).

701 Ahlwardt (1870, p. 92, no. 15, v. 21).

702 al-Aʿšā al-kabīr (1950, no. 2, v. 46).

703 al-Aʿšā al-kabīr (1950, no. 44, v. 8) = al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī (1921, p. 71, l. 8).

704 Ahlwardt (1870, p. 44, no. 20, v. 21).

705 Ǧarīr and al-Aḫṭal (1922, p. 145, l. 7 = no. 45, v. 29).

706 Ahlwardt (1870, p. 92, no. 15, v. 9).

707 al-Ḥansāʾ (1895, p. 1, v. 5); rhyme: -ābā.

708 Bloch (1989, p. 97).

709 Bloch (1993a, p. 129).

710 Bauer (1993a, pp. 132 f., 120 f.).

711 Cf. above on p. 102.

712 Schippers (1980, p. 366).

713 Finnegan (1977).

714 Kilpatrick (1982, especially p. 146 f.).

715 Socin (1900–1901).

716 Musil (1908, 1928).

717 Sowayan (1985).

718 On p. 102.

719 Sowayan (1985, p. 191 ff.).

720 Sowayan (1985, p. 110 f.).

721 Sowayan (1985, p. 186).

722 Sowayan (1985, p. 111).

723 Sowayan (1985, p. 186); cf. pp. 95–96.

724 Sowayan (1985, p. 101); cf. p. 94 and Chapter 3, p. 66.

725 Sowayan (1985, p. 186); cf. p. 95.

726 Sowayan (1985, p. 101).

727 Sowayan (1985, p. 186).

728 Sowayan (1985, p. 104).

729 Sowayan (1985, p. 187).

730 Sowayan (1985, p. 106); cf. Chapter 3, p. 64 with n. 357.

731 Sowayan (1985, p. 207).

732 Kupershoek (1994–2002).

733 Kupershoek (1994–2002, vol. 1, p. 165, no. 21).

734 Pointed out to me by Prof. W. Heinrichs, Harvard University.

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